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AN
INQUIRY
INTO THE
Reasonableness and Consequences
OF AN
UNION
WITH
SCOTLAND.

CONTAINING

A Brief Deduction of what hath been done, designed, or proposed, in the matter of the *Union*, during the last Age.

A Scheme of an *Union*, as accommodated to the present Circumstances, of the two Nations.

Also States, of the respective Revenues, Debts, Weights, Measures, Taxes and Impositions, and of other Facts of moment.

With Observations thereupon:

As Communicated to Laurence Philips, Esq;
near York.

L O N D O N

Printed and Sold by Ben. Bragg, at the
Black-Raven in Pater-Noster-Row. 1706.

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Impositions, and of other parts of the
Government.



With Observations thereon.
As Communicated to PARLIAMENT, 1706.
Printed and Sold by Wm. A. K. at the
Black-Raven in St. John's-Street.

Noble Subject, have been con-
founded and perplexed with Names
and Phrases, and involved in un-
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And therefore it is that after
having omitted the trivial and
nothy parts of the Occurrences,
and connected the different Dis-
sects, our Society have thought
fit to transmit those Enquiries

BY the herewith inclosed
Proceedings you will see,
that altho the point of
an Union of this Island be rea-
sonable, and plain, yet like
some other good things, it hath
had the Fate to be rendered in-
tricate and doubtful to many,
through the prejudices, humours
and secret designs of a few, by
whom the necessary Facts, and
material Truths relating to this

At Noble

Noble Subject, have been confounded and perplext, with Names and Phrases, and involved in *multitudes of Words without Understanding.*

And therefore it is, that after having omitted the trivial and frothy parts of the Occurrences, and corrected the different Dialects, *our Society* have thought fit, to transmit those Enquiries in their Native Habit, and without any Dress, that thus not only the matter, but likewise the manner might the better appear, and that the Characters of the Persons speaking, as well as the things spoken, might be more easily seen.

This point being over, at least at present, the *Club* have now

before

before them, the following Subjects of Enquiry.

1. Into the past and present State of the Trade, and Publick Revenues of England.

2. Into the Consequences, of the late progress of Navigation and foreign Trade, particularly of the New Discoveries in the Indies.

3. Into the reasons for Establishing a National Council of Trade.

Wherefore, as thinking the Union to be not only a conveyance, but likewise several other things of great weight and consequence in their view, the which shall be carefully communicated from time to time, in order to the having your Societies Advice and Concurrence therein.

But since, they are sensible, that this *Island* owes all the late Distractions, and Disorders, by which it hath lost so much of its *Value at home*, and of its *Weight abroad*, to the want of an *Union*, and cannot be otherwise than of opinion, that the Experience of the last Age, ought to convince those of this, *That a Kingdom divided within, or against it self, cannot stand.*

Wherefore, as thinking the *Union* to be, not only a convenient, but necessary Introduction to all their other Publick Views, they have accordingly ordered me to request your Application to this point, in the first place, and that you would omit no opportunity

portunity of transmitting your
Thoughts.

*In expectation whereof, I am
with all possible regard*

Your

Affectionate Friend

To Lawrence
Phillips, Esq;
near York.

and ready Servant,

April 9. 1706.

Lewis Medway.

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Thoughts.

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with all possible regard

Your

Affectionate Friend

To Lawrence
Phillips Esq;
New York.

and ready servant,

April 9. 1806.

Lewis Mcdewy.

The Rank and Liberty of the Nobility of Scotland
and the Liberty of the Nobility of England

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(1)

such Books, Pamphlets, or Papers, as
have been wrote, either for, against,
or any ways relating to an Union with
Scotland.

But to his great Disappointment,
found that of late a great number
in long tedious and perplexed heaps of
words, or rather a sort of ordinary
and trifling matter.

Wednesdays C L U B

IN
Friday--Street,

Upon the Subject of an Union
with SCOTLAND.

Wednesday December 19th. 1705.

THE Society having upon the
14th of November Adjourned
the further consideration of
the Point of an Union with
Scotland to this day.

When being accordingly met (Mr.
Brooks said) he had of late employed
no small part of his time in perusing

B such

such Books, Pamphlets, or Papers, as have been wrote, either for, against, or any ways relating to an Union with Scotland.

But, to his great Disappointment, found the most part, to consist, either in long, tedious and perplext heaps of words, or at best, but of ordinary, and trifling matter.

Mr. May said, he was sorry to find, that instead of coming to the point the Writers upon the Union had spent so much of their time in distinguishing, and refining upon such niceties, as, either signify nothing, or at best very little to that, or any other purpose.

But I make a great difference between the former and latter performances. (says Mr. Sands) For altho, those have usually handled the matter, as if they were filled with their own conceits, more, than the thing, or as if they had been somewhat too long at School; yet are they still so good natured, as either to wish us, a nearer and more compleat Union, or at least, that things may remain as they are.

But some of our new Politicians are pleased to reason from the things, not as they are, but as they would have them to be. First, supposing the two
Nati-

Nations divided, and afterwards to be linked or tyed together by some League, Covenant, Confederacy, or I know not what.

I likewise have seen, all, or most of the Books, and Pamphlets you seem to mean: (says Mr. Jones from the Chair) but look upon them, especially those of late, only to be the performances of prejudiced spleenick and uneasy people, or at best of such as either cannot, or will not go to the bottom or Root of any thing.

Its therefore my opinion, we come directly to the point of the Reasons for the Conveniencies of an *Union* without amusing our selves with heaps of Books, and Pamphlets, little, if any at all to the purpose.

I am as much as any for coming close to the point, but pray let us first see if we are agreed in it (says Mr. Hunt) for its said there are not a few of the most considerable Men in *Scotland*, utterly against an *Union*, and if so, we may spend our time to better purpose, than upon a thing people will not have, tho perhaps otherwise very good and adviseable in it self.

I am sorry to find any Gentleman so much mis-informed about the tempers and dispositions of my Countrymen: (says Mr. Rose) Since I am satisfied, there is not a Man of Consequence in Scotland against an Union, the question being only about the manner (*viz.*) whether it shall be an *Entire* or *Incorporating* or only a *federal Union*.

What do you mean by a *federal Union*? (says Mr. Jones).

Such an Union, (replied Mr. Rose) as was formerly among the *Grecian Republicks*, and is between the *Cantons* of *Switzerland*; and the *United Provinces* at this day.

We have but a Dark view of things so very remote, as the Leagued Governments of *Greece*; (says Mr. May) Only this is sufficiently known, that unless they were in War, with, or at least in imminent danger from some foreign Power; they were almost always together by the Ears, or in Broils among themselves.

The present Leagues of the *Switzers* have their Subsistence, principally from the great Superiority of the Protestant Cantons, and the Immediate danger of the whole from the neighbouring Potentates on the least mis-understanding among themselves. The

The United Provinces of the Netherlands are kept together, by the like causes (*viz.*) the Power, or Influence at least which the Province of *Holland* hath over the other Provinces: And of the City of *Amsterdam* over the other Citys of that Province: Together the danger they are in from without.

And whatever speculations we at this distance may have: The wisest and most unprejudiced persons in those Countries, do daily desire, and wish that their Governments, were more of a Piece, and are sufficiently apprehensive, that those different, and interfering parts, and Interests, shall one time or other be their Ruin.

And certainly it would be inexcusable in us of this Island, to take these Inconveniencies of choice, which some of our Neighbours on the Continent, have only from Necessity.

You talk of *Leagues* and *Confederacies*: But with whom would you make them? (says Mr. Brooks).

With the Parliament of *England* (says Mr. Rose).

The Parliament can make no Leagues, nor have any Treaties. (says Mr. Brooks) That's the Queen's Prerogative, and

not only Inherent to the Crown, but absolutely necessary for the Protection of Her Subjects.

Possibly we may differ more in words than in things. (says Mr. Rose) And so handing Mr. Jones a Paper, he said, here is a Scheme of what I mean by a federal Union, the which I desire may be read.

This Paper was accordingly Read three times, but being long and perplext, it was after much debate by Common consent reduced to the following Heads, viz.

1. That the two Kingdoms be united in the same Successor, but have their different Parliaments and Judicatures.
2. That the management of what may relate to them in Common, be committed to a Committee, or Common Council, consisting of ten or twelve of each Nation.
3. That the Quantities and Quotas of Taxes be agreed upon from time to time by Common consent.
4. That there be an Equal Communication, and Intercourse of Trade between the two Nations.

By this Scheme, if we may venture to call it so. (says Mr. Sands) The Government of the two Nations is Proposed to be transfered to 20 or 24 Committees

mittees or Directors. If this be a Settlement, it's hard to say what's not.

Where intend you those Commissioners or Directors shall reside? (says Hunt)

Doubtless at York. (says Mr. Speed)
Methinks Berwick, should be a fitter place. (says Mr. More).

Certainly if we in England should propose such a League, the Gentlemen of Scotland, might very reasonably ask, who should be the Guarantees (says Mr. Gage)

Tush! That's easie says Mr. Heath
I doubt not but the House of Bourbon would readily accept of this good Office.

But this must be, after such a Peace, as I hope is pretty remote to them (says Mr. North).

I wonder how it ever came to be imagined, that we in England should be inclined to the Secret of such a League. (says Mr. Brooks).

And much more, that we should be willing to keep it, if made (says Mr. Farr).

But how came you to call a thing by the name of an Union, which hath so manifest a tendency to a Separation (says Mr. Hall).

Whilst every one thus gave their Sentiments at random, Mr. Jones, seeing Mr. Rose somewhat out of Countenance, said, Gentlemen, the matter we are upon is an *Union*. Pray let us come to the Point.

After some silence. Mr. Carr, said, my friend Rose. You know I always told you, that tho this fancy of a *Confederacy*, or *federal Union*, (which name you said they gave it, to set it the better off) might serve, to please a few spleenitick, or discontented people, whilst kept up, and whispered as a Secret among them: Yet when once abroad, it would never bear the light, but be ridiculed and run down, as now you see it is.

Instead of uniting ! It so manifestly tends to divide the two Nations ; That I wish, those you had it from have a good meaning.

Doubtless you know Mr. Perth, who first communicated this Scheme to me, (says Mr. Rose) he is a good sort of well meaning Man, and has taken a great deal of pains in this matter, so that however it proves, I dare say it proceeds, from no bad meaning in him.

Mr.

Mr. Rose cannot but remember, (says Mr. Grant) that I have more than once told him, whatever might be intended, yet to me, it did not look very well, that upon other occasions, he has been sufficiently convinced; That of all sorts of Deceivers, your honest and well meaning Deceivers are the most dangerous. And that when a Man, has by taking a great deal of pains, at last made shift to deceive himself, he from thence forward becomes very sincere in his Endeavours of that kind with others.

I am as much for an *Union* as any: (says Mr. Shaw) and therefore, always told Mr. Rose that whatever name, himself or his friends might impose upon this, their Scheme, yet they could never cover or hide its manifest tendency to divide, and distract, rather than to unite. And therefore, as a medium, or expedient between an *Entire Union*, and this sort of *Confederacy*, some friends of mine proposed Limitations.

That's a hard word too. (says Mr. Jones) Pray what did you mean by it.

We meant the settling the Succession with Conditions upon the Successors, (says Mr. Shaw).

That might be well, (says Mr. More) if the Conditions were but good. But for better Information, be pleased to let us see them upon Paper.

Mr. Shaw produced the Limitations proposed to be made upon the Successors, and they are as follow.

1. That the next Successors should not have the Power of Calling or Dissolving of Parliaments.

2. That they should not have the Power of Peace and War.

3. That they should not Raise, or keep up any Forces by Land or Sea.

4. That they should not have the Power of making or contributing to the making of any Officers, Civil, or Military, or in the disposal of any Publick Places, Stations or Benefits whatsoever.

This is a short, but Comprehensive Paper. (says Mr. Jones) But to whom did you intend to give the things mentioned in this Paper? Since I find not you were inclinable to take them from the Successors.

To the Parliament (replied Mr. Shaw)
To whom else should we give them?

And when you had agreed upon those
or the like Conditions; To what
would you have proceeded next? (says
Mr. Sands).

To nominate the Successor, and af-
terwards to make a Treaty of Com-
merce, with England (says Mr. Shaw).

Successor, To what? (says Mr.
Sands).

To what? But our Crown! (says
Mr. Shaw).

What you mean by your Crown, I can-
not tell, (says Mr. Sands) but certainly
after all these Negatives put upon it, if
it had been a Crown, it would have
been a very *Metaphysical* one; since I
see nothing under Heaven, they could
be Successor unto. They were to have
no Money, no Troops, no Power, or
means to Reward, or Punish, or indeed
to have or be any thing else; And
yet after all this, you talk of settling
your Succession, your Crown, and I
know not what.

I fancy (says Mr. North) this Pro-
ject has not been far abroad neither,
it looks so very oddly, to say no
more.

It's

It's visibly of the same Stamp, and has the like tendency with that of the *Confederacy*. (says Mr. Brooks) And must proceed from men of the same principles, though perhaps of different Humours and Views.

It's somewhat tender, therefore I am unwilling to make further Observations, but refer it to any cool or unbiased person, to consider what must have been the Consequence of either of these Schemes, Contrivances, or what else you please to call them.

They know, I have often told them, (says Mr. Grant) that these fancies of *Confederacies*, and *Limitations*, could have no other consequence, than proving a means of setting my Countrymen together by the Ears; And thereby the putting one of the Parties under a necessity of delivering up, not only their *Limitations*, and *Confederacies*, but every thing else, to those who should be able, and willing to free them from, and Revenge them of their Foes.

You judge rightly (says Mr. Speed) Such causes must have such effects, especially in a Nation, who are not altogether without Heats and Animosities already, and who are naturally pretty warm as well as we.

We

We have had sufficient Experience of the bad effects of different humours, and Interests, since the Union of the Crowns (says Mr. May). How much more may we expect if ever this Island should be so unhappy, as to have the Administration of the Governments of the two Nations entirely separated.

I have no mind to see the experiment. (says Mr. Sand.) But wonder how any one could suppose, we in England should come up to a Treaty of Commerce, under those or the like Circumstances, especially, since without a Communication of Government.

Its utterly impossible for a Communication of Trade to subsist.

But suppose, any troubles we were in, or the Apprehensions of them had induced us to make some Impossible Treaties or Contracts. How long did they think we would keep them? (says Mr. Gage)

Till an opportunity for breaking them offered it self (says Mr. Heath).

The more I think of these Confederacies and Limitations, the more I see their inconsistencies (says Mr. Jones). Certainly had we proposed, or offered such things as these to the Gentlemen of Scotland; they would have been very angry.

If

If you have any angry things to spare, I intreat you would dispose of them elsewhere (says Mr. Hope); since I am afraid some of my Countrymen are so angry already, as not to stand in need of further provocations.

I also have had hints to this purpose (says Mr. Hunt). Pray what's the matter? what do they want? I speak not this as of my self only, but as from others, who have a great disposition to please, or do them good.

I shall endeavour to inform my self, how the matter stands, and report it with the first opportunity (says Mr. Hope).

If you find they know what they want, or what they would have, even altho they be angry, yet there is hope (says Mr. Speed). But if otherwise, they are in a dangerous Condition.

I hope you do not think any of my Countrymen are so very angry as not to know what they want, or what they would have (says M. Bruce).

I wish none of my Countrymen were (says Mr. Gage.)

It's strange to see, how men change with the times, the times with men, or something or other, (says Mr. Hope.)

for about five years ago, and so for twenty years before; I did not know one in *Scotland*, who was not for the *Union* at any rate: And now, I know not what some men are for.

As I told you before, I tell you again (says Mr. *Rose*), there is nobody in *Scotland* against the *Union*; only the question is. What kind of thing it shall be.

What they do in *Scotland* (says Mr. *Sands*) I cannot tell, but it's not the manner here in *England* for people, to say they are against a good or popular thing, only, that this is not the right way, the proper persons, the fit time or the like.

I am likewise one of those, who believe there are few, if any of my Countrymen against the *Union*, (says Mr. *Bruce*) only perhaps some may be a little troubled with the spirit of opposition, as I am apt to be, when in a fit of the *Splene*, or out of humour; but when we come to the business, that will soon be over.

I incline to Mr. *Bruce*'s opinion, (says Mr. *Grant*) and the rather, because that before these angry times, my Countrymen were Zealously for the *Union*, as thinking nothing less could make

make this *Island*, (particularly their part of it happy and easie.

This disposition of theirs appeared eminently at the Revolution, as you may see by King *William's* Letter to the Estates of *Scotland*, dated at *Hamp-toncourt* the 7 of *March* 1689, wherein his Majesty was pleased to express himself thus.

We were glad to find that so many of the Nobility and Gentry when here at London, were so much inclined to an Union of both Kingdoms, and that they did look upon it as one of the best means for procuring the happiness of these Nations, and settling a lasting Peace among them, which would be advantageous to both, they living in the same Island, having the same Language and the same Common Interest of Religion and Liberty, especially at this juncture, when the Enemies of both are so restless, endeavouring to make and increase Jealousies and Divisions, which they will be ready to improve to their own advantage, and the ruine of Britain: We being of the same opinion as to the usefulness of this Union, and having nothing so much before our Eyes, as the Glory of God, the Establishment of the Reformed Religion, and the Peace and Happiness of these

these Nations. are resolved to use our utmost endeavours in advancing every thing which may conduce to the effectuating the same.

And this general disposition of theirs appears still further and more amply in the Letter of the Estates of Scotland to the King, with the offer of their Crown dated the 24 of April 1689. and signed by Duke *Hamilton* their then President. Wherein they thus express themselves.

We are most sensible of your Majesties Kindness and Fatherly Care of both your Kingdoms, in promoting their Union which we hope hath been reserved to be accomplished by you ; That as both Kingdoms are united in one Head and Sovereign, so they may become one Body Politick, one Nation to be Represented in one Parliament.

And to testifie our Readiness to comply with your Majesty in that matter : We have nominated Commissioners to Treat of the Terms of an entire and perpetual Union betwixt the two Kingdoms, with Reservation to us of our Church Government, as it shall be Established at the time of the Union.

These Commissioners do wait your Majesties approbation and call, that they may

may Meet, and Treat with the Commissioners to be appointed for England, at what Time and Place your Majesty shall appoint.

And if any difficulty shall arise in the Treaty, we do upon our part refer the Determination thereof to your Majesty. And we assure our selves from your Majesties Prudence and Goodness of a happy conclusion to that important Affair, so as the same may be agreed to, and ratified by your Majesty in your first Parliament.

Nothing can be more full, or expressive upon the Union, than this Letter: Wherein the word *Entire*, is made use of, the first time I remember it in any Publick Paper upon the Subject. And therefore how some of my Countrymen, come now to be so much at variance with their own word, I cannot imagine.

One would conclude from this, (says Mr. Jones) that at the Revolution, the Union was in a fair way. Pray what then hindered it from being effected?

Upon this the King recommended it very earnestly to the Parliament of England (continued Mr. Grant) but nothing was done.

Pray

Pray, what do you think was the reason of the Coldness on the part of *England* at the Revolution ? (says Mr. North)

The reason was plain (says Mr. Grant) my Countrymen proceeded to the declaring King *William* and Queen *Mary*, upon the bare promise of an *Union*, without seeing it first effected, and were afterwards (as is usual with them) left to repent at leisure what they had done in haste : Since their Crown being once settled, they were thought no more worth notice ; much less the trouble of a Treaty.

This neglect bore very hard upon their Spirits ; And no doubt, has been one of the principal causes of their discontents, tho the miscarriage of their late undertakings to the *West Indies* proved the occasion of their breaking out.

After some effects of their discontents upon this miscarriage, the King did what he could to compose those matters, but still reckoned as formerly, that nothing but an *Union* could do it effectually ; He therefore recommended a nearer and more compleat *Union* to the Parliament of *England*, with great earnestness, renewing this his Recommendation a few days before his Death. And

how much her present Majesty has preserved this matter since her happy Accession to the Throne is sufficiently known.

But must not we be obliged to part with our Sovereignty and Independence by this *Union*? (says Mr. Carr).

Neither Nation can be said to part with, or lose their Sovereignty by the *Union* (Replied Mr. May) since the two Sovereignities, will thereby be made or Consolidated into one: And thereby, those *partition Walls* of Independencies, with regard to one another will be taken away.

To come to particulars (says Mr. Carr.) What hath always frightened me most from the thoughts of an *Union*, has been the apprehensions of its Inconsistency with the preservation of the *Presbyterial Church Government* in Scotland. Wherefore in the first place, I desire to know how that can be secured?

The security of the Church Governments of both Kingdoms (says Mr. May) is expressly Provided for in the respective Acts of Parliament lately past for a Treaty, the which of course makes this to be the first fundamental condition

tion of the *Union*, and not only so but by the *Union* the two Churches and the Tolleration will become a natural poise and Balance to one another, whereas otherwise (*as we have formerly seen*) some or other of these will always be in hazard upon the least Rupture or misunderstanding between the two Nations, so that instead of bringing the Church Government of either Kingdom in danger, the *Union* will certainly be the greatest humane security for them both, and for the Tolleration, upon which their Quiet and Happiness so very much depends.

But how shall our Laws and Judicatures be preserved by this *Union* (says Mr. Shaw).

Without doubt, the *Laws* and *Judicatures* of both *Kingdoms*, will be continued Entirely as they are (says Mr. May :) And thus it has been in all Unions happily made, and of which we have Examples almost every where, particularly in this Island, where not only the Principality of *Wales*, but likewise the Counties Palatine of *Chester* and *Durham* have for several ages remained as a sort of separate Jurisdictions in point of *Laws*, and *Judicatures*; Although in a manner inclosed

by several parts of *England*. Infomuch, as it is but of late they have had the Priviledge of sending Knights, and Citizens to Parliament.

The difference of Laws and Customs are certainly so far from being Arguments against ; that they are and ought to be taken among the principal Reasons for an *Union* ; since thereby the worst parts of both, will the more naturally come to be discovered and mended, and the better parts improved.

This was the opinion of my Lord *Bacon*, and all the considerable men, who were for the *Union* in the last Age (says Mr. *Sands*) But as has been hinted must be left to time, and the General Concurrence, we see the different Laws and Customs of *Wales*, *Chester*, *Durham*, and other places of *England*, have never received any alteration, without the unanimous Consent, and Application of the Places, and Parties concerned.

But what say you to the Rank of our *Nobility* (says Mr. *Bruce*). Will not that be prejudiced by this *Union*.

Instead of losing any thing, either in Rank or otherwise, (says Mr. *May*) the Interest, and Influence of the *Peerage*

of *Scotland*, in this Island and consequently in the rest of the world may be considerably advanced by the *Union*.

If you make your *Union* upon this foot, (says Mr. *Rose*) it will certainly be a *federal Union*.

We shall not differ with you about words or names, (says Mr. *May*) If you are but pleased, to let us have the thing.

Men are sometimes apt rather to differ about Words or Names, than Substantials, or Things (says Mr. *Brooks*) Pray therefore let us agree upon the name, before we proceed further.

When men are inclinable to differ and mis-understand one another, they are usually very nice about Words, Phrases, and Names (says Mr. *May*); But I hope its not so among us. However I think Mr. *Brooks* has made a good motion.

I love Words, as well as things, when plain and easie (says M. *Jones*). Pray therefore, let us not pester and clog this word *Union* with the Epithets, or Additions of *Entire*, *Incorporate*, *Federal*, or any other but rather call it, (as I hope we all mean it ; a plain *Union*.)

Since I perceive the Company are agreed upon the name, by which I reckon they have made a considerable progress (says Mr. Sands). Pray let us now come to the Thing.

Mr. Grant has been pleased to give us a very pertinent and succinct Account of what past in the matter of the *Union* since the Revolution (says Mr. Brooks). But I wish he or some other of the Gentlemen would be at the trouble of giving a Deduction of what hath been done or endeavoured in it, from the beginning of the last Age.

This is the true way of discovering the necessary facts, and consequently of being rightly informed (says Mr. Grant), and in which we have none so capable, as our friend Mr. May if he will please to favour us.

Sir, you hear what the Gentlemen say (says Mr. Jones). And since I doubt not but you come prepared; Pray be pleased to gratifie them in their request.

Mr. May made some difficulty at first, and would have put others of the Company upon it. However, after this and some other such excuses as are usual on like occasions, he proceeded to give the following Deduction.

For a considerable time before the *Union* of the Crowns, all the most understanding, and least prejudiced part of the Inhabitants of this Island, concluded, nothing under Heaven could contribute more to the security and happiness thereof, than by removing the separate and interfering Jurisdictions, and Interests therein, to bring them to be one people, having one Interest, one Heart, and one Inclination.

And accordingly upon the Accession of King *James* of *Scotland* to the Throne of *England*, every one concluded, this would of course unite the several interfering Jurisdictions, and Interests, and consequently put an effectual End to those Humours, and Animosities, which for several Ages past had been so fatal to the *British* Interest in the World.

Yet after all this, to the great surprise of every one, the work of completing this happy *Union* was first brought to a stand; and in a very few months all thoughts thereof laid aside.

From

From whence could this proceed? (says Mr. *Sands*) since it's plain the King at his first Accession to the Crown of *England* had sufficient influence in both Kingdoms, and could not but know, that by the removal of the Seat of the Government from *Scotland*, the compleating of the *Union*, was become, not only necessary to the well being, but to the very being of that Country.

It's a hard matter to judge of things at such a distance (says Mr. *May*). But the blame is usually laid upon some of his Majesties followers, whose secret reason of being against it, was, that they doubted, whether they could be so considerable in an *United Nation*, as in one *divided*. But whose publick pretences were; the preservation of Sovereignities, Independencies, and such like, as you will find by the *Limitations* of the *Commissioners* appointed by the two Kingdoms to Treat in the year 1604.

Who (as these had very superficial, Perplext and Precarious Powers) handled the matter accordingly: And not to trouble you with their long and intricate

intricate Papers ; I shall in a few words give you what I take to be the substance of what they then did, (*viz.*)

1. *They agreed upon the abolishing of all Hostile Laws, and the memory of all Hostilities on the Borders.*

2. *Upon a reciprocal Naturalization of the Subjects of both Kingdoms.*

3. *Upon a Communication of Trade, and mutual Commerce between the two Kingdoms ; but this last was clog'd with several perplext Restraints, Impositions and Exclusions.*

These things went very well down in Scotland, where the Court had still the sole Influence ; But in *England*, where the Credit of some of King *James's* followers began to decline, *they were not so easie ;*) However the Parliament here, readily proceeded to the Confirmation of such parts of the Treaty, as regarded the Abolishing of the Hostile Laws, and the memory of all Hostilities upon the Borders.

But the Articles relating to the *Naturalization* and *Communication* of Trade, they could not be brought to understand, as not knowing, how they could subsist between *Nations*, who, tho under the same *King*, yet still pretended to preserve their *Sovereignty* and

and *Independencies*, with regard to one another.

However the Judges found out a way sometime after, to declare, and allow the Natives of *Scotland*, after the Accession of their King to the Crown of *England*, to be Englishmen, and so it has remained to this day.

The informations I have had of this matter, (says Mr. *Grant*) leave me no room to doubt, but the unhappy loss of that occasion, of compleating the *Union*, was due to some about the King, who reckoned it their Interest to keep the Nations divided; That so by the playing the Parties, and Humours, against one another, they might not only have the better Harvest, but likewise more safety, and easily reap the publick Spoils.

Thus, as Favorites often do, they sacrificed their Prince and Country to their own little mean *Conceits*, *Avarice* and *Ambition*. And left the *Scottish Nation* without *Government*, or *Order*, from which time their distresses and grievances, and consequently their discontents encreased, the which after having for a long time burnt inwardly and preyed upon themselves: At last the fatal effects thereof broke violently out in

Scot-

Scotland in the year 1639, and in *England* and *Ireland* in the years 1640 and 41, Effects whereof we find not a few are now changed into Causes, of which it grieves me to think, and still more, to mention.

Mr. Grant has brought us insensibly to the times of our late misfortunate intestine Broils, which begun about the year 1640, and lasted near 20 years. (says Mr. May) And since I am sensible of your uneasiness at the remembrance of those unhappy things, I shall not mention more of them, than what may someway or other relate to the *Union*, or at least to what was done, or intended therein.

Soon after these misfortunate Broils begun, there was a *League*, or *Confederacy* made between the two *Kingdoms*, the which with various interruptions continued for some years, until it was entirely broke in the year 1650.

When a War breaking out between the two Nations, *Scotland* was thereby reduced to the Obedience of the prevailing Power of the House of Commons, who stiled themselves the *Parliament* of *England*.

Well,

Well, and what was the effect of this (says Mr. *North*). I hope when they had them in their Power, they took care to manage them.

So they did (says Mr. *May*), for they immediately nominated Commissioners to Treat with them of an *Union*.

Did you not just now say, they had reduced them by Force of Arms (says Mr. *North*) certainly if so, they could have *united*, *annexed*, or done what they would without consulting them. What need was, there then, of the trouble of a *Treaty*.

Tho they had reduced *Scotland* by force of Arms (says Mr. *May*), yet by what they did, its plain they thought it could not be so well kept, or secured as by an *Union*. And that an *Union* could never be so happy, when imposed, as by a *Treaty* and mutual consent.

For immediately after the Battle of *Worcester*, which happened in *September* 1651, that is to say, in the Month of *October* following, the Parliament nominated, and appointed Eight of their principal Members, as *Commissioners*, to go down to *Scotland*; and there to Treat with the *Estates* of that Kingdom

dom of an *Union* between the two Nations.

The Commissioners nominated for this purpose were, The Chief Justice *St. John*, Sir. *Henry Vane Junir*, Major General *Lambert*, Major General *Dean*, Lieutenant General *Monk*, Colonel *Fenwick*, Alderman *Tichburn* and Major *Salway*.

Accordingly in *March* following the Estates of *Scotland*, being Assembled at *Dalkeith*, 20 of the 32 Shires and 35 of the then 57 Boroughs agreed to the *Union*. And in their Assembly at *Edinburgh*, about two months afterward, the rest of the Counties and Boroughs did likewise concurr.

And since after this general Agreement to the *Union*, several particular things occurred, which required a further Treaty, the Estates of *Scotland* nominated 21 of their number, that is to say 14 for the Shires, and 7 for their Boroughs, to attend the Parliament of *England*, in order to the full settlement and adjusting thereof.

In consequence whereof, the Bill for an *Union*, as likewise, an Act for an Indemnity in *Scotland*, was after several meetings with a Committee of Parliament

liament in the House of Lords agreed unto, and ordered to be reported.

But before this Report could be made, the Long Parliament was turned out of Doors by *Cromwell*, by which there was a stop put to the *Union*, as well as to several other considerable things then depending.

The Long Parliament being thus dissolved, or rather broken up in *April* 1653, *Cromwell* took the Government upon him, and in *December* following assumed the Name and Stile of *Protector*, and at his Instalment, signed an Instrument, whereby among other things, the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* were brought under a new Regulation, with respect to their Representatives in Parliament: As you will see by the Scheme thereof, of which here is a Coppy.

Upon which Mr *May* delivered to Mr. *Jones*, a Coppy of *Cromwell's* Scheme for a Representative, as likewise of the several proportions of the Assessment of 35000 *l.* on *England* 6000 *l.* on *Scotland*, and 9000 *l.* per month upon *Ireland* in the year 1656, which is as follows (*viz.*)

The

The Scheme of the Representative for *England*.

Members of Parl.	Counties	Cities and Boroughs	Rates in the Assessment of 35 000 l. per month in the year 1656.
5	County	Town of Bedford—	466 13 4
1		Town of Bedford—	
5	County	Borough of Berks—	
1		Borough of Abingdon—	44 8 11
1		Borough of Reading—	
5	County	Town of Bucks	641 13 4
1		Town of Buckingham	
1		Borough of Aylesbury	
1		Borough of Wicomb	
4	County	Town of Cambridge	551 5
1		Univerſ. of Cambridge	
1		Univerſ. of Cambridge	
2		Univerſ. of Ely	183 15
4	County	City of Cheſter	385
1		City of Cheſter	42 15 7
8	County	Borough of Cornwall	816 13 4
1		Borough of Lancelton	
1		Borough of Truro	
1		Borough of Penryn	
1		Borough of Eaſt Looe and Weſt Looe	

2	County	of Cumberland	3	54
1	City	of Carlisle		
4	County	of Derby	3	466 13 4
1	Town	of Derby		
11	County	of Devon		
2	Borough	of Plimouth	}	1501 17 9
1	Borough	of Dartmouth		
1	Borough	of Tornefs		
1	Borough	of Barnstable		
1	Borough	of Tiverton		
1	Borough	of Honyton		
2	City	of Exeter		53 13 4
6	County	of Dorset		
1	Borough	of Dorchester	}	655 15 3
1	Borough	of Weymouth		
1	Borough	of Lime		
1	Town	of Pool		5 7
2	County	of Durham	3	76 17 2
1	City	of Durham		
14	County	of York		
2	City	of York	}	1521 14 9
1	Borough	of Beverly		
1	Borough	of Scarborough		
1	Borough	of Richmond		
1	Town	of Leeds		
1	Town	of Hallifax		
1	Town	of Kingston upon Hull		33 16 8

N.B. For the County
of York, 14 to be
chosen distinctly
by the three Rid-
ings: That is to
say; for the West
Riding 6. For the
East Riding 4, for
the North Riding
4.

13	County	of Essex	}	1750
1	Borough	of Malden		
2	Borough	of Colchester		

5 County

5	County	of Gloucester	}	813	3	4
1	Borough	of Tewkesbury				
1	Borough	of Cirencester				
2	City	of Gloucester		81	5	7
4	County	of Hereford	}	583	6	8
1	City	of Hereford				
1	Borough	of Leominster				
5	County	of Hartford	}	700		
1	Town	of St. Albans				
1	Borough	of Hartford				
3	County	of Huntingdon	}	311	2	3
1	Borough	of Huntingdon				
11	County	of Kent	}	1827	15	7
2	City	of Canterbury				
1	City	of Rochester				
1	Borough	of Maidstone				
1	Port	of Dover				
1	Port	of Sandwich				
1	Borough	of Queenborough	}	466	13	4
4	County	of Lancaster				
1	Borough	of Preston				
1	Borough	of Lancaster				
1	Borough	of Liverpoole				
1	Town	of Manchester	}	544	8	10
4	County	of Leicester				
2	Borough	of Leicester				
10	County	of Lincoln				
2	City	of Lincoln				
1	Town	of Boston	}	1361	2	3
1	Borough	of Grantham				
1	Town	of Stamford				
1	Town	of Greatgrimsby				
6	City	of London		2333	6	8
4	County	of Middlesex	}	894	8	11
2	City	of Westminster				
3	County	of Monmouth		233	6	8
10	County	of Norfolk	}	1812	4	5
1	Town	of Linne Regis				
2	Town	of Gr. Yarmouth				
2	City	of Norwich		93	6	8
6		of Northampton	}	700		
1	County	City of Peterborough				
1	Town	of Northampton				
4	County	of Nottingham		451	12	2
		D 2			2	Town

2	Town	of Nottingham	15	1	2
3	County	of Northumber- berland	89	19	11
1	Town	of Newcastle up- on Tyne	17	16	10
1		of Berwick upon Tweed	2	18	4
5	County	of Oxford	563	17	9
1	City	of Oxford			
1	Univerf.	of Oxford			
1	Borough	of Woodstock			
2	County	of Rutland	136	2	3
4	County	of Sallop			
2	Town	of Shrewsbury	661	2	2
1	Borough	of Bridgnorth			
1	Borough	of Ludlow			
3	County	of Stafford			
1	Town	of Stafford	459	13	4
1	Borough	of Newcastle on the Line			
1	City	of Litchfield	7		
11	County	of Somerset			
2	Borough	of Taunton			
1	City	of Bath	1361	2	3
1	City	of Wells			
1	Borough	of Bridgwater			
2	City	of Bristol	85	11	1
8	County	of Southampton			
1	City	of Winchester			
1	Town	of Southampton	1011	2	2
1	Town	of Portsmouth			
2	Isle	of Wight			
1	Borough	of Andover			
10	County	of Suffolk			
2	Borough	of Ipswich			
2	Borough	of St. Edmunds	1827	15	7
1	Borough	of Dunwich			
1	Borough	of Sudbury			
6	County	of Surry			
1	Borough	of Gilsford	781	12	9
1	Borough	of Rygate			
2	Borough	of Southwark	92	7	3

9 County

9	County	of Suffex		
1	City	of Chichester	}	
1	Borough	of Lewis		
1	Borough	of East Grinstead		952 15 7
1	Borough	of Arundel		
1	Borough	of Rye		
2	County	of Westmorland		36 19 8
4	County	of Warwick	}	
2	City	of Coventry		622 4 5
1	Borough	of Warwick		
5	County	of Worcester		591 2 2
2	City	of Worcester		31 2 3
10	County	of Wilts	}	
2	City	of New Sarum		972 4 5
1	Borough	of Marlborough		
1	Borough	of The Devises		
2	County	of Anglesey		67 17 2
2	County	of Breckon		180 16 8
2	County	of Cardigan		106 15
2	County	of Carmarthen		176 3 4
2	County	of Carmarvan		101 2 2
2	County	of Denby		136 2 3
2	County	of Flint		67 17 3
2	County	of Glamorgan	}	
1	Town	of Carlif		229 8 10
1	County	of Merioneth		62 4 5
2	County	of Montgomery		147 15 6
2	County	of Pembroke		203
1	Town	of Haverford	}	
1		West		7 5 10
2	County	of Radnor		127 3 4

Total Members 400.

L. 34893 5

N. B. Tho' this Scheme hath
been compared with fe-
veral Copies, yet
it is still found to
come short of the Sum of
35000l. that of

106 15

Total l. 35000

D 3

Scheme

Scheme of the Representative for Scotland.

Members.			Rates in the
			Assessment of 6000 l. per Month in the Year 1656.
1	County	of Orkney and Zetland	90 14 2
1		of Caithness	49 18 9
1		of Sutherland	28
1		of Ross	
1		of Cromarty	5 13 9
1		of Elgin	88 5 5
1		of Nairn	23 3
1		of Inverness	215 18 3
1		of Banff	95 17
1		of Aberdeen	339 16 7
1		of Forfar	272 16 3
1		of Kinkardine	82 1
1		of Fife	419 17 10
1		of Kinross	11 3 2
1		of Perth	419 17 10
1		of Linlithgow	105 16 6
1		of Sterling	146 3 8½
1		of Clackmannen	29 7 3¼
1		of Dumbarton	63 14 2
1		of Argyle	162 5 10½
1		of Bute	25 14 ½
1		of Ayr	322 10 5
1		of Renfrew	313 15 7
			1 of

N. B. The
Assessment
of Ross is
inserted in
that of In-
verness.

1		of Lanerk	263	17	10
1		of Edenburg	265	6	6
1		of Berwick	234	8	5
1		of Roxborough	307	4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1		of Selkirk	75	7	5
1		of Peebles	86	17	6
1		of Dumfrees	216	1	5
1		of Wigton and Kirkubright	213	5	6
1		of Haddington	231	17	2
2	City	of Edenburg	334	12	
1	Borough	of Dornock	1	9	
1		of Tain	4	19	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1		of Innerness	24	19	5
1		of Dingwall	19	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1		of Nairn	2	1	2
1		of Elgin	6	13	2
1		of Forreſs	3		
1	Town	of Bampf	3		
1		of Collen	1	10	
1	Borough	of Aberdeen	66	12	
1		of Forfar	2	1	1
1		of Dundee	69	18	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
1		of Arbroth	4	10	
1		of Monroſs	19	19	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1		of Brechin	6	14	6
1	Borough	of Linlithgow	17	16	10
1		of Queensferry	4	1	
1		of Perth	39	19	3
1		of Colerofs	4	10	
1		of Sterling	10	19	9
1		of St. Andrews	33	6	
1		of Dyſert	13	19	10
1		of Kirkaldie	24	8	5
1		of Cowper	10	19	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
1		of Anſtruther East	7	19	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1		of Pittinweem	6	13	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1		of Creel	10	19	
1		of Dumfermling	8	15	3
1		of Kinghorn	4	10	
1		of Anſtruther West	3	9	
1		of Innerkething	4	19	9
1		of Kilreny	1	10	
1		of burnt Island	10	19	9
		D 4			of

		of Lanerk	6	
	City	of Glasgow	64	18 9
	Borough	of Rugline	2	
1		of Rothsay	3	
		of Rensfrew	1	18 11
		of Air	13	19 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Town	of Irwing	9	19 8
	Borough	of Dunbarton	6	
	Borough	of Dumfrees	16	13
		of Sanchar	1	
		of Lochmaben	1	
1		of Annan	1	
		of Wigton	6	19 11
		of Kirkubright	8	4
		of Whitehorn	2	
		of Galloway	10	
		of Peebles	4	19 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
		of Selkirk	6	13 2
		of Jedburgh	8	18 5
1		of Lauder	3	9 7 $\frac{1}{4}$
		of North Berwick	2	6 10
		of Haddington	18	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		of Dunbar	10	19 7 $\frac{1}{4}$

39 Members

Total 6000 17 2 $\frac{1}{2}$

N.B. Tho' this Scheme hath
been compared with se-
veral Copies, Yet its
still found to exceed by

17 2 $\frac{1}{2}$

Remains 6000

Scheme

Scheme of the Representative for Ireland.

Members			Rates in the Assessment of 9000 l. per Month in the Year 1656.
2	County	Of Eastmeath	1903 18
2		of Louth with the Town of Tre- dagh	590 12
2		of Kildare	590
1		of Wicklo	120
1		of Dublin	1080
1	City	of Dublin	720
2	County	of Catherlogh	200
2		of Wexford	600
2		of Kilkenny	1482 10
2		of Queens County	360
2		of Westmeath	573
2		of Langford	105
2		of Kings County	240
2		of Down	1466
2		of Antrim	340
1		of Armagh	1763
1	Town	of Carrickfergus	
1		of Belfast	
2	County	of Donegall	1143
2		of Tirone	550
2		of Londonderry	1012
1	Town	of Derry	
1	Barony	of Colrain	

1	_____	_____	of Cavan	173	
1	_____	_____	of Fermanagh	300	
1	_____	_____	of Monaghan	155	2
1	_____	_____	of Kerry	180	
2	_____	_____	of Clare	745	4
1	_____	_____	of Limrick	956	16
1	_____	City	of Limrick		
1	_____	_____	of Kilmallock		
1	_____	Town	of Bandon		
1	_____	_____	of Kingsale		
2	County	_____	of Tipperary in- cluding Holi- cros	1610	
1	_____	_____	of Waterford	1120	
1	_____	City	of Waterford		
1	_____	_____	of Clonmel		
1	County	_____	of Cork	3360	18
1	_____	Town	of Cork		
1	_____	_____	of Youghall		
2	County	_____	of Sligo	360	
2	_____	_____	of Roscommon	533	
2	_____	_____	of Leitrim	130	
2	_____	_____	of Galway	2060	
2	_____	_____	of Mayo	477	

30

Total

27000

N. B. This Assessment
upon Ireland is for
3 Months,

By

By this Scheme, you see, continued Mr. May, that *England* and *Wales* was to have 400 Representatives, *Scotland* 30, and *Ireland* as many,

You likewise see, how those 460 Representatives were distributed, and what proportion they bore in the Assessment of the year 1656, wherein altho 70000 *l.* per month was settled as the Quota, or share of *England*, when *Scotland* was brought in for 6000 *l.* and *Ireland* for 9000 *l.* per month. Yet since this Kingdom had for several years past, been almost at all the Expence of the War, they had the abatement of one moiety of their Share or Proportion, of the Assessment for three years.

That with regard to *England*, *Scotland* paid somewhat more then one thirteenth part of the Assessment, and had somewhat less than a fourteenth part of the Representative.

That *Ireland* paid near the ninth part of the Assessment, yet had but the same proportion in the Representative with *Scotland*.

This Assessment of 70000 *l.* per month for *England* 6000 *l.* for *Scotland* and 9000 *l.* for *Ireland*, was reckoned

oned equivalent to 2 s. in the Pound, by which you see, they then valued the Rents of *England* at 8,400,000 l. those of *Scotland* at 720,000 l. and those of *Ireland* at 1,080,000 l.

But it is said that those stated valuations did not Amount to above two thirds of the real extended values.

Upon the 12 of *April* 1654, *Oliver*, and his Council past the following Ordinance for uniting of *Scotland* with *England*.

HIS Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England* *Scotland* and *Ireland*, &c. Taking into Consideration, how much it might conduce to the glory of God, and the Peace and Welfare of the People in this whole Island; That after all those late unhappy Wars and Differences, the People of *Scotland* should be united with the People of *England* into one Commonwealth, and under one Government; and finding that in December 1651. the Parliament then sitting did send Commissioners into *Scotland* to invite the People of that Nation into such a happy Union; who proceeded so far therein, that the Shires and Boroughs of *Scotland*, by their Deputies convened at *Dalkeith*,
and

and again at Edenburgh, did accept of the said Union, and Assent thereunto: For the compleating and perfecting of which Union, Be it Ordained, and it is Ordained by His Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, by and with the Advice and Consent of his Council, That all the People of Scotland and of the Isles of Orkney and Zetland, and of all the Dominions and Territories belonging unto Scotland, are and shall be, and are hereby Incorporated into, Constituted, Established, and Declared, and Confirmed one Commonwealth with England: And in every Parliament to be held successively for the said Commonwealth, Thirty Persons shall be called from, and serve for Scotland.

And for the more effectual preservation of this Union, and Freedom, and Safety of the People of this Commonwealth so united, Be it Ordained, and it is Ordained by the Authority aforesaid. That all the People of Scotland and of the Isles of Orkney and Zetland, and of all the Dominions and Territories belonging unto Scotland, of what Degree or Condition soever, be discharged of all Fealty, Homage, Service and Allegiance, which is, or shall

shall be pretended due unto any of the Issue and Posterity of Charles Stuart, late King of England and Scotland, or any claiming under him; And that Charles Stuart Eldest Son, and James, called Duke of York Second Son, and all other the Issue and Posterity of the said late King, and all and every Person and Persons, pretending Title from, by, or under him, are and be disabled to hold or enjoy the Crown of Scotland and other the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any of them, or to have the Name, Title Stile, or Dignity of King, or Queen of Scotland, or to have and enjoy the Power and Dominion of the said Kingdom and Dominions or any of them, or the Honors, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Possessions and Hereditaments belonging or appertaining to the said Crown of Scotland, or other the Dominions aforesaid, or to any of them, Any Law, Statute, Usage, Ordinance, or Custom in Scotland to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

And it is further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Office, Stile, Dignity, Power and Authority of King of Scotland, and all right of the three Estates of Scotland, to Convocate or Assemble in any General Convocation or Parliament

liament, and all Conventional and Parliamentary Authority in Scotland, as formerly established, and all Laws, Usages, and Customs, Ordaining, Constituting or Confirming the same, shall be, and are hereby, and from henceforth abolished and utterly taken away, and made Null and Void.

And that this Union may take its more full effect and intent, Be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, That the Arms of Scotland, viz. a Cross Commonly called St. Andrews Cross, be received into and born from henceforth in the Arms of this Commonwealth, as a Badge of this Union: and that all the Publick Seals, Seals of Offices, and Seals of Bodies Civil or Corporate, in Scotland, which heretofore carried the Arms of the Kings of Scotland, shall from henceforth instead thereof carry the Arms of this Commonwealth.

And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, That all Customs, Excise, and other Imposts for Goods transported from England to Scotland, and from Scotland to England, by Sea or Land, are and shall be so far taken off and discharged, as that all Goods for the future shall pass as free, and with like Priviledges, and with the like Charges and Burthens from Eng-

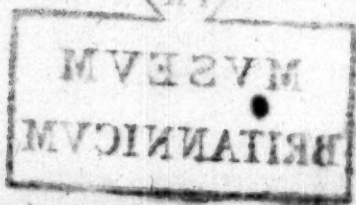


England to Scotland, and from Scotland to England, as Goods passing from Port to Port, or Place to Place in England; that all Goods shall and may pass between Scotland, and any other part of this Commonwealth, or Dominions thereof with the like Priviledges, Freedom, Charges and Burthens, as such Goods do, or shall pass between England and the said parts and Dominions, Any Law, Statute, Usage or Custom to the contrary thereof in any-wise notwithstanding.

And that all Goods prohibited by any Law now in force in England to be transported out of England to any Foreign parts, or imported, shall be, and hereby are prohibited to be Transported or Imported, by the same Law, and upon the same Penalties out of Scotland to any Foreign parts aforesaid, or from any Foreign parts into Scotland.

And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, That all Cesses, publick Impositions and Taxations whatsoever, be Imposed, Taxed and Levyed from henceforth proportionably from the whole people of this Commonwealth so united.

And further, to the end that all Dominion of Tenures and Superiorities Importing Servitude and Vassalage, may likewise
be



be abolished in Scotland. Be it further Declared and Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, That all Heritors, Proprietors and Possessors of Lands in Scotland, or the Dominions thereunto belonging, and their Heirs, shall from and after the 12 day of April, in the year of our Lord 1654 hold their respective Lands of the respective Lord and Lords by Deed, Charter, Patent or Enfeoffment, to be renewed upon the Death of every Heritor, Proprietor or Possessor (as now they do) to his or her Heirs, by and under such Yearly Rents, Boons and Annual Services, as are mentioned or due by any Deeds, Patents, Charters, or Enfeoffments now in being, of the respective Land therein expressed, or by vertue thereof enjoyed without rendering, doing, or performing any other Duty; Service Vassalage or Demand whatsoever by reason, or occasion of the said Lands, or any the Clauses or Covenants in the said Deeds, Charters, Patents, or Enfeoffments contained, saving what is hereafter herein and hereby particularly Expressed and Declared: That is to say, Heriots where the same are due, Fines (certain where the same is already certain, and where the Fine is uncertain, reasonable Fines) upon the death of the Lord, and upon the Death or Alienation of the Tenant or any of them;

E where

where the same have usually been paid, which said Fine (not being already certain) shall not at any time exceed one years value of the Lands, and also doing Suit and Service to such Court and Courts Baron, as shall be constituted in Scotland, in such manner as is Ordained by one other Ordinance, Entituled, An Ordinance for erecting Courts Baron in Scotland.

And be it Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every the Heritors, Proprietors and Possessors aforesaid, and their Heirs, are and shall be from henceforth forever discharged of all Fealty, Homage, Vassalage and Servitude, which is, or shall be pretended due from them, or any of them, unto any their Lords or Superiors whatsoever, claiming Dominion or Jurisdiction over them, by virtue of the said Patents, Charters, Deeds, or Enfeoffments, and other rights thereof, or of any Clauses or Conditions therein contained, other than as is before Declared and Ordained. And that all the said Superiorities, Lordships and Jurisdictions (other then as aforesaid) shall be, and are hereby abolished, taken off and discharged; and that all and every the said Deeds, Patents, Charters and Enfeoffments in that behalf be, and are hereby declared, and made so far Void and Null; And particularly, That all and every the
Heri-

Heritors, and others the persons aforesaid and their Heirs, are and shall be for ever hereafter freed and discharged of, and from all Suits, and appearing at or any their Lords or Superiors Courts of Justiciary, Regality, Stuartry, Barony, Bayliary, Heritable Sheriffship, Heritable Admiralty, all which together, with all other Offices Heritable, or for Life, are hereby abolished and taken away; and that all and every the Heritors and persons aforesaid, and their Heirs, are and shall be forever hereafter freed, and discharged of, and from all Military Service and personal Attendance upon any their Lords or Superiors, in Expeditions or Travels, and of all Casualties, of Ward Lands formerly held of the King, or other Superiors, and of the Marriage, single and double avail thereof, Non-Entries, Compositions for Entries, and of all Rights and Casualties payable if they be demanded, only, or upon the committing of any Clauses Irritant. And that the said Heritors and persons aforesaid be now and from henceforth construed, reputed, adjudged, and declared free and acquitted thereof, and of and from all and all manner of holding, Suits, Duties, Services Personal or Real, and demands whatsoever (other than is before Declared and Ordained) notwithstanding the present Te-

nor of any their Deeds, Patents, Enfeoffments, or any Clauses, Articles or Covenants therein contained or mentioned to the contrary in any wise, and that in time to come, all and every Clause, Covenant, Article, Condition or thing to the contrary hereof, shall be omitted, out of all such Deeds, Patents, Charters and Enfeoffments.

And be it further Ordained, That all Forfeitures, Escheats, Simple, or of Life, Rent, Bastardy, and last Heir, which heretofore Escheated, Forfeited and fell to the King, Lords of Regality, or other Superiors shall from henceforth fall, Escheat, and Forfeit to the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth for the time being.

Passed 12 April 1654. Confirmed 1656.

By the Preamble thereof (continued Mr. May) you may see, That this Act for an Union with Scotland is founded upon the proceedings of the Parliament in 1651 and 1652 upon that Subject.

Besides the Exclusion of the Royal Family, there are several other Negative Clauses therein, little, if at all to our purpose, as the taking away the Powers of Assemblies, Conventions, and Parliaments

ments in *Scotland*. The altering their *Arms*, *Seal*; and such like.

The taking away the *Wards*, *Servitudes*, and *slavish Tenures*, was thought a good and popular thing in those days, insomuch, that even after the Restoration, they continued them abolished, here in *England*, and gave an Excise to the Crown in lieu of them; Altho at the sametime several other Good things were neglected for no other reason, (I could ever learn) unless it were from the abhorrence of any thing promoted, or done, in those still Recent times of Usurpation and Rebellion.

However, the *Wards* and *Liveries* were in the year 1660 again restored in *Scotland*, and so continue to this day; And its none of our business to talk of taking them away, that motion must come from themselves, as in every thing else they may find inconvenient; For as I said, the *Union* it self is not intended to be such, as to alter the municipal Laws of either Kingdom.

On the 27 of *June* 1654 *Cromwell* and his Council past the two following Ordinances for the Distribution of the Representatives for *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

*An Ordinance for Distribu-
tion of the Elections in
Scotland.*

‘ **W** Hereas by the Government of
‘ the Commonwealth of *Eng-*
‘ *land, Scotland and Ireland*, publickly
‘ declared at *Westminster* the 16 of
‘ *December* 1653, It is declared that the
‘ distribution of the persons to be cho-
‘ sen for *Scotland*, and the severall Coun-
‘ ties, Cities and Places within the
‘ same, shall be according to such pro-
‘ portion, of Numbers as shall be agre-
‘ ed upon and declared by the Lord
‘ Protector, and the major part of the
‘ Council, before the sending forth
‘ VVrits of Summons for the next Par-
‘ liament.

‘ And whereas His Highness, and
‘ the major part of the Council, before
‘ the sending forth of any VVrits of
‘ Summons aforesaid, did Agree and
‘ Declare the distribution of the persons
‘ to

‘to be chosen for *Scotland*, according
 ‘to the proportion and numbers here-
 ‘after mentioned.

‘Its therefore Ordained, Declared
 ‘and Agreed by His Highness the
 ‘Lord Protector, with the consent of
 ‘the Council, That the persons to be
 ‘chosen for *Scotland*, and the several
 ‘Counties, Cities and Places within
 ‘the same, shall be according to the
 ‘proportions, and numbers hereafter
 ‘expressed : *That is to say*, for the Shires
 ‘of *Orkney*, *Zethland* and *Caithness* one,
 ‘and the place of meeting for the E-
 ‘lection of such person shall be at
 ‘*Caithness*.

‘For the Shires of *Sutherland*, *Ross*,
 ‘and *Cromerty* one, and the place of
 ‘meeting for the Election of such per-
 ‘son shall be at *Ross*.

‘For the Shire of *Inverness*, one, and
 ‘the place of meeting for the Election
 ‘of such person, shall be in the same
 ‘Shire.

‘For the Shire of *Elgin* and *Narin*,
 ‘one, and the place of meeting for the
 ‘Election of such person shall be at *Elgin*.

‘For the Shire of *Bamff*, one, and
 ‘the place of meeting for the Election
 ‘of such person, shall be in the same
 ‘Shire.

‘ For the Shire of *Aberdeen*, one, and
 ‘ the place of meeting for the Election
 ‘ of such a person shall be in the same
 ‘ Shire.

‘ For the Shires of *Kinkardine* and *For-*
far, one, and the place of meeting for
 ‘ the Election of such person shall be at
 ‘ *Forfar*.

‘ For the Shires of *Fife* and *Kinross*,
 ‘ one, and the place of meeting for the
 ‘ Election of such person shall be in
 ‘ *Fife*.

‘ For the Shire of *Perth*, one, and the
 ‘ place of meeting for the Election of
 ‘ such person, shall be in the same
 ‘ Shire.

‘ For the Shires of *Linlithgow*, *Ster-*
ling and *Clackmannan*, one, and the
 ‘ place of meeting for the Election of
 ‘ such person shall be at *Sterling*.

‘ For the Shires of *Dumbarton*, *Ar-*
gyle and *Bute*, one, and the place for
 ‘ the Election of such person shall be
 ‘ at *Dumbarton*.

‘ For the Shires of *Aire* and *Renfrew*,
 ‘ one, and the place of meeting for the
 ‘ Election of such person shall be in *Aire-*
 ‘ Shire.

‘ For

‘ For the Shire of *Lanerick*, one, and
 ‘ the place of meeting for the Election
 ‘ of such person shall be in the same
 ‘ Shire.

‘ For the Shire of *Edinburgh* one,
 ‘ and the place of meeting for the Ele-
 ‘ ction of such person shall be in the
 ‘ same Shire.

‘ For the Shire of *Berwick* one, and
 ‘ the place of meeting for the Election
 ‘ of such person shall be in the same
 ‘ Shire.

‘ For the Shire of *Roxborough*, one,
 ‘ and the place of meeting for the Ele-
 ‘ ction of such person, shall be in the
 ‘ same Shire.

‘ For the Shires of *Selkirk* and *Peebles*,
 ‘ one, and the place of meeting for the
 ‘ Election of such person shall be at
 ‘ *Peebles*.

‘ For the Shire of *Dumfrees*, one, and
 ‘ the place of meeting for the Electi-
 ‘ on of such person, shall be in the same
 ‘ Shire.

‘ For the Shire of *Wigton*, one, and
 ‘ the place of meeting for the Election
 ‘ of such person shall be in the same
 ‘ Shire.

‘ For

‘ For the Shire of *Haddington*, one,
 ‘ and the place for the Election of
 ‘ such person shall be in the same
 ‘ Shire.

‘ And for the Boroughs of *Dornoch* ;
 ‘ *Tain*, *Inverness*, *Dingwall*, *Nairn*, *El-*
 ‘ *gin* and *Forres*, one, and the place of
 ‘ meeting for the Election of such per-
 ‘ son shall be at *Inverness*.

‘ For the Boroughs of *Bamff*, *Cullen*
 ‘ and *Aberdeen*, one, and the place of
 ‘ meeting for the Election of such person
 ‘ shall be at *Aberdeen*.

‘ For the Boroughs of *Forfar*, *Dundee*,
 ‘ *Aberbroth*, *Montross*, and *Brechin*, one,
 ‘ and the place of meeting for the Ele-
 ‘ ction of such person shall be at
 ‘ *Dundee*.

‘ For the Boroughs of *Linlithgow*,
 ‘ *Queensferry*, *Perth*, *Colross* and *Ster-*
 ‘ *ling*, one, and the place of meeting
 ‘ for the Election of such person shall
 ‘ be at *Sterling*.

‘ For the Boroughs of *St. Andrews*, *Dy-*
 ‘ *sert*, *Kirkaldy*, *Cooper*, *Anstruther East*,
 ‘ *Pittenweem*, *Creil*, *Dumfermling*, *King-*
 ‘ *horn*, *Anstruther West*, *Inerkeething*,
 ‘ *Kilrenny*, and *Burnt-Island*, one, and
 ‘ the place of meeting for the Election,
 ‘ of such person shall be at *Cooper* in
 ‘ *Fife*.

‘ For

‘ For the City of *Edenburgh* two.

‘ For the Boroughs of *Lanerk, Glas-*
gow, Ruglen, Rothsay, Renfrew, Aire,
Irvin and *Dunbarton*, one, and the
 ‘ place of meeting for the Election of
 ‘ such person shall be at *Glasgow*.

‘ For the Borough of *Dunfrees, San-*
char, Lochmaben, Annan, Wigron, Kir-
kubright, White-Horne and *Galloway*, one
 ‘ and the place of meeting for the E-
 ‘ lection of such person shall be at *Dum-*
frees.

‘ For the Boroughs of *Peebles, Sel-*
kirk, Jedborough, Lauder, N. Berwick,
Dunbarr, and *Haddington* one, and the
 ‘ place of meeting for the Election of
 ‘ such person shall be at *Lauder*.

‘ And it is further Ordained by His
 ‘ said Highness the Lord Protector, with
 ‘ the consent of the Council, That for
 ‘ the effectual and orderly Election of
 ‘ the persons aforesaid, to be chosen to
 ‘ sit and serve in Parliament, as in the
 ‘ said Government is declared, several
 ‘ Writs under the Great Seal of *Eng-*
land shall Issue and be directed to
 ‘ the several and respective Sheriffs of
 ‘ the several and respective Shires,
 ‘ wherein the respective Elections are
 ‘ to be made of the respective persons
 ‘ to serve in Parliament for the respec-
 ‘ tive

' Five Shires, and the respective Sher-
 ' riffs of the County, where the Ele-
 ' ctions for the Boroughs are hereby
 ' appointed to be made according to
 ' the distribution aforesaid: And that
 ' the respective Sheriffs, to whom such
 ' Writs shall be directed, are hereby
 ' Authorized and Impowered to make,
 ' or cause Proclamation to be made of
 ' such Writ in all the Counties, Bo-
 ' roughs and places respectively for the
 ' making such Election and Elections,
 ' and to Issue his Warrant to the Chief
 ' Officer of the place, where such Ele-
 ' ction for Boroughs is to be made,
 ' notwithstanding the same be not with-
 ' in the Shire whereof such person is
 ' Sheriff, and to cause the Elections to
 ' be made accordingly; which Writs
 ' the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commis-
 ' sioners of the Great Seal of *England*
 ' for the time being, shall Seal, Issue
 ' and send forth.

An Ordinance for Distribution of the Elections in Ireland.

‘ **W** Hereas by the Government of
 ‘ the Commonwealth of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land, Scotland and Ireland* publicly de-
 ‘ clared at *Westminster*, the 16th of Dec.
 ‘ 1653. Its declar’d, That the Distri-
 ‘ bution of the Persons to be chosen for
 ‘ *Ireland*, and the several Counties, Cities
 ‘ and Places within the same, shall be ac-
 ‘ cording to such proportions and num-
 ‘ bers as shall be agreed upon and declar-
 ‘ ed by the Lord Protector, and the Ma-
 ‘ jor part of the Council, before the send-
 ‘ ing forth Writs of Summons for the
 ‘ next Parliament.

‘ And whereas His Highness and the
 ‘ Major part of the Council, before the
 ‘ sending forth of any Writs of Sum-
 ‘ mons aforesaid, did agree and declare
 ‘ the distribution of the Persons to be
 ‘ chosen for *Ireland*, according to the
 ‘ proportion and numbers hereafter men-
 ‘ tioned.

tioned. It is therefore Ordained, De-
 clared and Agreed by His Highness
 the Lord Protector, with the Consent
 of the Council, That the Persons to
 be chosen for *Ireland*, and the several
 Counties, Cities and Places within
 the same, shall be according to the
 proportion and number hereafter ex-
 pressed. *That is to say,*

For the Province of *Lemster*, Ten,
 (that is to say) for the Counties of
Meath and *Lowth*, two, and the place
 of meeting for the Elections of such
 Persons shall be at *Drogheda*.

For the Counties of *Kildare* and
Wicklo, two.

For the County and City of *Dub-
 lin*, two, and the place of meeting
 for the Election of such Persons shall
 be at *Dublin*.

For the Counties of *Carlo*, *Wexford*,
Kilkenny and *Queen's*, two, and the
 place of meeting for the Election of
 such Persons shall be at *Carlo*.

For the Counties of *West-Meath*,
Longford and *Kings*, two, and the
 place of meeting for the Election of
 such Persons shall be at *Mullingar*.

For the Province of *Ulster*, Seven,
 That is to say,

For

‘ For the Counties of *Down, Antrim*
‘ and *Armagh*, two.

‘ For the Towns of *Carickfergus* and
‘ *Belfast*, one, and the place of meeting
‘ for the Election of such Persons shall
‘ be at *Belfast*.

‘ For the Counties of *Derry, Dunigal*
‘ and *Tyrone*, two.

‘ For the Towns of *Derry* and *Cole-*
‘ *rain*, one, and the place of meeting
‘ for the Election of such Person shall be
‘ at *Derry*.

‘ For the Counties of *Cavan, Ferman-*
‘ *nagh* and *Monaghan*, one, and the place
‘ of meeting for the Election of such
‘ Person shall be at *Ineskillyn*.

‘ For the Province of *Munster*, Nine,
‘ That is to say,

‘ For the Counties of *Kerry, Lime-*
‘ *rick* and *Clare*, two, and the place of
‘ meeting for the Election of such Per-
‘ sons shall be at *Rabaul*.

‘ For the City and County of the
‘ City of *Limerick* and *Kallmallock*, one,
‘ and the place of meeting for the E-
‘ lection of such Person shall be at *Li-*
‘ *merick*.

‘ For the County of *Cork*, one.

‘ For the Town of *Cork* and *Toughall*,
‘ one, and the place of meeting for the
Election of such Person shall be at *Cork*.

‘ For

‘ For the Towns of *Bandon* and *Kinsale*, one, and the place of meeting for the Election of such Person shall be at *Bandon*.

‘ For the Counties of *Waterford* and *Tiperary*, two, and the place of meeting for the Election of such Persons shall be at *Clonmell*.

‘ For the Cities of *Waterford* and *Clonmell*, one, and the place of meeting for the Election of such Persons shall be at *Waterford*.

‘ For the Province of *Connaught*, except the County of *Clare*, four, That is to say,

‘ For the Counties of *Sligo*, *Roscommon* and *Letrym*, two, and the place of meeting for the Election of such Persons shall be at *James-Town*.

‘ For the Counties of *Galloway* and *Mayo*, two, and the place of meeting for the Election of such Persons shall be at *Galloway*.

‘ And it is further Ordained by His said Highness the *Lord Protector*, with the consent of the *Council* aforesaid, that for the effectual and orderly Election of the Persons aforesaid, to be chosen to sit and serve in *Parliament*, as in the said Government is Declared, several Writs under the Great Seal

' Seal of *England* shall Issue and be Di-
 ' rected to the several Sheriffs of the a-
 ' foresaid Counties and Cities, to make
 ' the respective Elections of the re-
 ' spective persons, to serve in *Parli-*
 ' *ament* for the said respective Counties,
 ' Cities, Towns and herein before de-
 ' clared, which Writs the Chancellor,
 ' Keeper, or Commissioners of the *Great*
 ' Seal of *England* for the time being shall
 ' Seal, Issue and send forth.

About this time there were likewise
 several other Ordinances, and Regula-
 tions, with regard to *Scotland*, past by
Oliver, and his Council, all of them
 so far as I can learn, at their own re-
 quest, the most part thereof, with sever-
 al others for different purposes were con-
 firmed by an Act of the Representatives
 of the three Nations in 1656, which
 hath the following remarkable Pream-
 ble (*viz.*)

Whereas since the 20th. of April 1653, Sep. 17.
in the great exigencies and necessities of 1656.
these Nations, divers Acts and Ordinan-
tes have been made without the Consent of

the people assembled in Parliament, which is not according to the Fundamental Laws of the Nations, and the Rights of the People, and is not for the future to be drawn into example, yet the acting thereupon tending to the Settlement of the Estates of several Persons and Families, and the Peace and Quiet of the Nations; Be it enacted by his Highness the Lord Protector and this present Parliament, &c.

Thus stood the *Union* for some years during which as I have had it from some of the most knowing Men of those times, That Nation was never more easie and happy in it self, nor Justice more Impartially Administred.

At the Restoration, every thing relating to *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, were again put upon the same unhappy foot, as before the War. The ill effects whereof were soon after felt in many instances, but particularly, by the passing and Execution of several Negative Acts, relating to Trade, which not only awakned the Old, but begot and raised many new Animosities.

The

The Scots made heavy Complaints and Remonstrances against these Impositions and Exclusions, but without any Redress.

However in the year 1667. the King was Impower'd to nominate Commissioners to Treat with those of *Scotland*, about the taking off, altering or super-seeding several Duties, Impositions, Restraints or Prohibitions: And accordingly Commissioners were nominated, and had several meetings in *January* and *February* 1667. But after all found it impossible to come to any resolution, so this Treaty broke up, and came to nothing.

The things which the Commissioners on the part of *Scotland*, principally complained of, on this occasion may be seen by the following paper, the which Mr. *May* delivered to be read and inserted in our Books.

' We have received your Lordships
' Paper of the first of *February* Instant
' signed by your Lordships order, *John*
' *Walker*, in answer to ours of the 25th
' of *January* last.

' To which we return this Answer.
 ' That as we are ; and shall be very far
 ' from formalizing in a business of such
 ' a Concernment. So when your Lord-
 ' ships shall consider the dates of our
 ' Papers, we hope you will find we have
 ' not been the cause of any loss of time
 ' or delay.

' By your Lordships first Paper, you
 ' desired to have the whole in Prospect,
 ' and we did conceive, you had it by
 ' our first Paper, wherein we represen-
 ' ted, that contrary to the Priviledges
 ' declared to belong by Law, to his
 ' Majesties Subjects of Scotland, born
 ' under the Allegiance of the King :
 ' And contrary to that freedom of Trade
 ' enjoyed for so many years, some Acts
 ' have been made, since the 25th of
 ' March, in the 12th year of his Maje-
 ' sties Reign.

' We exprest very particularly what
 ' related to the *Act of Navigation*, and
 ' where we said, that by other Acts of
 ' Parliament since that time, some Goods
 ' and Commodities of Scotland, are at
 ' sometimes charged with a Duty and
 ' Imposition equal to, or above their
 ' value : VVe doubted not but your
 ' Lordships conceived, we meant that
 ' branch of an Act charging Scots Cat-
 ' tle

' the brought into this Kingdom after
 ' the 24th of *August*. And that by
 ' the Custom and Imposition charged
 ' upon some Goods of *Scotland* about
 ' 16 times more than the Foreign Goods
 ' of the like nature: We meant the Act
 ' imposing 16 s. 8 d. on each weigh of the
 ' Salt of *Scotland*, where only one Shil-
 ' ling is imposed upon Foreign Salt:
 ' We mentioned also unusual Custom
 ' exacted in *Northumberland and Cumber-*
 ' land, which we conceived might have
 ' been very obvious to your Lordships.

' These are the most material obstru-
 ' ctions, and we little expected your
 ' Lordships could reasonably appre-
 ' hend any Heterogenous matters from
 ' us, being both our Commissions are
 ' limited to the Freedom and Liber-
 ' ties of Trade betwixt the two King-
 ' doms, and to the Impositions obstru-
 ' ctling the same; Yet seeing your
 ' Lordships do still insist, that we should
 ' first declare more particularly what
 ' we have further to propose, and give
 ' you a Scheme of the whole; In com-
 ' plaine with this we do represent,
 ' That we expect your Lordships will
 ' consent to the restoring his Ma-
 ' jesties Subjects of *Scotland*, to the same
 ' Freedom of Trade here in *England*
 ' and

‘and the Dominions thereunto belong-
 ‘ing, which they enjoyed during the
 ‘happy Reigns of his Majesty’s Roy-
 ‘al Grandfather, and Father of Blef-
 ‘sed Memory. And for that purpose,
 ‘to the repealing all the Clauses of
 ‘Acts of Parliament, here in *England*,
 ‘which obstruct and destroy that Free-
 ‘dom.

‘Having fully exprest our selves
 ‘as to the first and greatest Obstruction;
 ‘*The Act of Navigation.*

‘We now mention further ; *The Act*
 ‘*for encouraging of Trade* the 15 Car. II.
 ‘*Chap. 7.* and by it the Imposition on
 ‘*Scots Cattle*, from the 24 of *August*,
 ‘to the 20 of *December*, and what by
 ‘that Act may be interpreted to con-
 ‘cern the Subjects of *Scotland*, as to
 ‘their Importation of Fresh and Salted,
 ‘or Dried Fish ; VVhich last Clause
 ‘depends in part upon the *Act of Na-*
 ‘*avigation.*

‘An Additional Duty laid on *Scots*
 ‘*Linnen Cloath*, by the *Act of Tunnage*
 ‘*and Poundage*, in the 12 year of His
 ‘Majesties Reign, being one full moiety
 ‘more than is mentioned in the Book of
 ‘*Rates.*

‘That

‘ That part of the Act 14 Car. II.
 ‘ Chap. 7. which forbid the carrying
 ‘ Skins or Hides, Tanned or Untaned
 ‘ into Scotland.

‘ That part of the Act for prevent-
 ‘ ing Frauds and Abuses in his Maje-
 ‘ sties Customs, 14 Car. II. Chap. 11.
 ‘ which obliges all Goods and VVares,
 ‘ that shall be brought out or carried
 ‘ into the Kingdom of Scotland, to pass
 ‘ by or thro the Towns of *Berwick* or
 ‘ *Carlisle*, at least we shall desire an Ex-
 ‘ planation of the same.

‘ The Imposition laid upon *Scots* Salt,
 ‘ above 16 times more than that upon
 ‘ Foreign Salt, 14 Car. II. Chap. 11.

‘ The Imposition laid upon *Scots*
 ‘ Beer, viz. 10. Shilling per Barrel, as
 ‘ if *Scotchmen* were Foreigners, 18. Car.
 ‘ II. Chap. 5.

‘ And we further expect, that where
 ‘ Foreigners, or places beyond the Seas
 ‘ are mentioned in any Act, that it be
 ‘ declared that his Majesties Subjects
 ‘ of Scotland, nor his Kingdom of Scot-
 ‘ land are not meant, nor cannot be so
 ‘ understood to be meant

‘ As concerning the unusual Customs
 ‘ imposed lately in *Northumberland* and
 ‘ *Cumberland*, we mean, that of late,
 ‘ there have been demanded for every

' Stoned Horse, carried into *Scotland*
 ' 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* For every Gelding, 1 *l.*
 ' for every Mare 6 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* For e-
 ' very quarter of *Wheat* carried by
 ' Land 5 *s.* 4 *d.* Of Rye 4 *s.* Of Pease
 ' 4 *s.* Of *Barley* and *Barly* 2 *s.* 8 *d.* and of
 ' Oats 1 *s.* 4 *d.* upon a pretence of the
 ' Acts made in the 13. and 15. years of
 ' His Majesties Reign, and without any
 ' colour of Law, New Impos't, as we
 ' are informed, are laid upon *Northum-*
 ' *berland Coals* carried into *Scotland*, and
 ' unusual Customs upon ordinary Market
 ' Commodities, brought every Market-
 ' day into *Berwick*.

' Thus your Lordships have now the
 ' full Scheme of all that is to be de-
 ' manded by us in this Treaty. But,
 ' because what we have given in, relat-
 ' ing to the Act of Navigation, was the
 ' first in time, and is the greatest ob-
 ' struction of our Trade, and indeed
 ' without which our Trade cannot be
 ' carried on, we still insist upon an An-
 ' swer to it in the first place, and then
 ' we shall willingly proceed to Treat
 ' on all the rest in order.

' And we hope it shall appear, we
 ' do and shall desire nothing, but the
 ' Just and Reasonable removal of the
 ' Obstructions of that Freedom of Trade
 ' fo

‘ so long enjoyed ; And the continuing,
 ‘ & strengthening the happy agreement
 ‘ of both the Kingdoms, which is
 ‘ our greatest desire, and shall be pursued
 ‘ by us most Heartily and Diligently.

Feb. 3. 1667.

Upon the Breaking up of this Treaty, continued Mr. May, it became still more manifest, that nothing less than a nearer and more Compleat Union could remedy those growing Evils, and this not only with regard to Scotland, but likewise to Ireland, as among other things appears by a paper about that time presented to his Majesty, by several of the most Considerable Persons of that Kingdom. To the following effect.

‘ His Majesties Good Subjects in Ireland, upon the hearing of a Proposal
 ‘ not long since made for the uniting
 ‘ England and Scotland, with all Obedience and Submission, humbly conceive
 ‘ it a means conducive thereto : If the
 ‘ like Union of England and Ireland under one Legislative Power assembled
 ‘ in

' in one Parliament, might be resetled
 ' *de jure*, in something the like manner,
 ' as it was formerly *de facto*, to the fa-
 ' cilitating his Majesties gracious Go-
 ' vernment of both Kingdoms, dissolv-
 ' ing of many intricate difficulties, tak-
 ' ing away much of the Root of Disfe-
 ' sence, and Discord between the now
 ' many Parties in his Majesties said
 ' Kingdoms, and strengthening his
 ' hands against all Opposers both at
 ' home and abroad.

The Grievances for want of Union.

' 1. The Judges are not agreed whe-
 ' ther Laws made in *England* (since
 ' *Poyning's Law*) do bind *Ireland*, tho
 ' it be named in them; So that im-
 ' bezelling, razing, and abusing Re-
 ' cords, too often practixed, is not Fe-
 ' lony there as in *England*.

' 2. The Judges are not agreed how
 ' the Act 17 and 18 *Car. I.* made in
 ' the Parliament of *England*, may con-
 ' sist with the Acts of Settlement and
 ' Explanation since made in *Ireland*.

' 3. The people of *England*, sent over
 ' and living in *Ireland* for his Majesties
 ' Service, are accounted as Foreigners
 ' and

‘and Aliens in many things. (*viz.*) That
 ‘their Goods from *Barbadoes* must first
 ‘come to *England*, that they pay double
 ‘Custom here, &c.

‘4. The Colonies sent from *England*,
 ‘are therefore the more * disposed in ^{* See Stat.}
 ‘a generation or two to turn *Irish*, Of ^{4. Eliz.}
 ‘whom at this day two third parts are ^{for attain-}
 ‘degenerated *English*, and of the re- ^{der of Ty-}
 ‘mainder two thirds are of the *Welch*, ^{rony and}
 ‘and but one ninth of the old *Biscainers* ^{Miltons}
 ‘chased by the *Goths*, and Planted there ^{Histories,}
 ‘by leave from *England*; and the best of
 ‘these as the *Obrians*, and divers others
 ‘are become true *English*.

‘5. If *Ireland* continue so to drein
 ‘away Men (as between the year 1649
 ‘and 1653, above 50000 Soldiers) both
 ‘that and *England*, and our Plantations
 ‘in *America*, may want Men, when as
 ‘it may be so ordered as to help all the
 ‘rest with Supplies.

‘6. Those turned *Irish* are against
 ‘Improvement, Ornament, the King’s
 ‘Revenue, and Interest there, the ad-
 ‘vancement of Trade. All these are
 ‘promoted by the *English-Planters*, who
 ‘on any Commotion, lose their Im-
 ‘provements and Stock, (generally
 ‘fivetimes more worth than their Lands),
 ‘their Wives and Children driven in-
 ‘to

‘ to *England* in Distress, moving a general pitty of their Calamity, and indignation against their Oppressors.

Advantages by the Union.

‘ 1. The less Army would serve, Trained-Bands might suffice) the *English* Pale there being not compleatly four Counties, for many years kept it self against the rest of *Ireland* without any great Charge to *England*.

‘ 2. The *English* upon such evidence and ground of Establishment, and quiet in their Possessions, a main point, (possest and dispossessest, being a great foundation of differences there) in other things would be more disposed to any reasonable Conformity, which their dependance upon *England* will oblige them to.

‘ 3. The *Irish* being put from their hopes of having any more *Irish* Parliaments, will be the easier disposed to *English* Habit, Language, Building of Chimnies and other manner of *English* living, according to many of our Statutes, still in force to that end : The want of all which things make the great Consumption of the *English* there.

Whilst

‘ Whilst this kind of Union held *de facto* in the late times, the *Irish* generally went to the *English* Protestant Churches, and did actually conform as above said.

4. Neither then would the Great Men of all parts there, as hitherto, be so concerned to expel their English Tenants and take in *Irish*, tho at less Rents, partly because they are more absolutely at their own command, and slavish; partly to keep up the pretence and necessity of a greater Army, wherein their Relations, Servants and Dependants have convenient Entertainments.

5. There is here the greater facility from the general use of the same Laws in both Kingdoms.

And the disposition for an Union with *Scotland* so far prevailed, that in the year 1670, the King was impowered by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms to nominate Commissioners to Treat. The which Commissioners were accordingly appointed, and had several meetings, but after all this Treaty, likewise came to nothing. The Commissioners on the part of *Scotland*, not only insisting upon their old pretences of preserving sovereignties, and independencies, but like-

likewise that by their Constitution they could not so much as Treat of an *Union*, untill their whole Parliament, and even all their Constituents had consented.

That at all Adventures, they would not Treat of an *Union*, but only in the Line of their King *James* the VI.

Those were pretty remote Reasonings says Mr. *More*, Did they not come nearer to the point?

In Compliment to the King continuied Mr. *May*, They at last offered to try if they could get their Countrymens Consent, to have the two Parliaments joyned, but would not abate one of their Members upon any account whatsoever.

A good Motion, says Mr. *Gage*, but did they pretend to come in for the like proportion of Taxes as of Representatives in Parliament.

When the proportion of Taxes was urged as the Rule and Standard, for that of their Representatives in Parliament, replied Mr. *May*, they said there were many small Boroughs in *England*, which sent two Members to Parliament, yet in the Assessment did not contribute one *per Cent* of what was paid by some of the great Counties, and Cities; and much more to this purpose, and consequently not worth remembrance.

These

These Reasons are somewhat faint, to say no more ; says Mr. *Sands*, we have had 'enough if not too much of them.

Thus you see, continued Mr. *May*, that tho the first motion of a Treaty come entirely from themselves, yet it was the Gentlemen of *Scotland*, who broke it off.

But, says Mr. *Sands*, methinks since they had so altered their minds, they might at least have found more tolerable and plausible excuses than these ; but pray what do you think was the secret and true motives of their breaking up this their own Treaty.

Its said that some about Court, who at first fancied they could increase their Power, and Influence by the *Union*, replied Mr. *May*, being afterwards convinced it would have quite another effect, accordingly took care to break up the Treaty, as you have heard.

Its evident , that this Conduct of the Commissioners for *Scotland*, could not proceed so much from any thing, as from the ill disposition of some, who had the Influence and Secret of *Scots* Affairs at Court, says Mr. *Grant*, since both before, and for a considerable time afterward, they could and did
Com-

Command Obedience in *Scotland*, without reserve, particularly in the matters of Trade, about which most of these differences arose.

Would it not be worth while to enquire what hath been gotten or reaped out of those disorders, says Mr. *Sands*, or what Families have been raised by these kind of means.

As it was ungodly work, says Mr. *Grant*, so a Curse seems to have followed, for at this day we can hardly find a Family, or but the remainders of one; raised by these sort of means.

It must needs have been a bad game where all have been such looſers, says Mr. *Hope*, on the one hand the English say that by the Accession of the Kings of *Scotland* to their Crown, instead of an addition of strength *as expected*, they have had nothing but trouble and umbrage from that Kingdom; and on the other; *its plain*, that for want of a nearer and more compleat Union, the Kingdom of *Scotland* hath been greatly prejudiced: since before this loose and irregular tie of the Union of the Crowns, it is said, to have been, with regard to *England*, in People as one to four, and in Wealth, as one to seven, but doubt if it can now come up to half that proportion.

I can hardly think your Country ever came up to what you seem to hint, says Mr. *May*, but by what Papers I have seen, am apt to believe that *Scotland* was then much more considerable with regard to the rest of the World than it now is, since we find that even by the regulation in *Cromwell's* time they came in for about one thirteenth part of the Assessment, and the question is if they are now capable of coming in but for that proportion.

By what I have lately understood, says Mr. *Hope*, they can hardly come in for half what they did in *Cromwell's* time.

But what do you think could be the cause of such a decline, says Mr. *North*, for one would think, if they had been over-run by an Enemy, and Governed by an Army for half an Age together, they could hardly have been sunk so much, as by this you seem to hint.

There is no doubt, but a Country abandoned, is rather in a worse condition than when Conquered, (says Mr. *Grant*) For where a people are subdued, the Conqueror usually takes some care of his Acquisitions, but when a place is thus left, altho the names and forms may be still the same; yet hardly any

G thing

thing of the Majesty, or essential parts of Government remain. The Laws and Magistratures, being only so far in force as they can do harm, and consequently the Inhabitants, are rendred not only a Prey to one another, but to the very Servants of Servants.

I am so far from wondering how *Scotland* comes to be so low, (says Mr. *May*) That considering their circumstances I am amazed to think how they have made shift to subsist, as they have done, *for more than an Age together*, for instance, let us suppose, two persons, or Families of 100 *l. per An.* each. The one encreasing, and the other, consuming but only to the value of one hundred pence yearly, at the rate of 6 *per Cent, per An.* for one hundred years continuance. Pray what do you think would be the difference of those two Estates at the determination of that time?

By this Table of Logarithmes (says Mr. *Grant*) I find the Estate of the gainer encreased to about 250 *l. per Annum*, but that of the other utterly consumed, and he about 800 *l.* in Debt.

By

By this Instance we may perceive the difference between a thriving and declining State, of a Family, Country, or whatever it be (continued Mr. May), But besides this, the Progress Trade has made in the world during the last Century, must have very much contributed to this alteration.

From whence I conclud, that any tollerable *Conquest*, had been much better for *Scotland*, than this imperfect and partial Union, which commenced in the year 1603.

You see the *Conquest* in the year 1651 brought a *Union* of course (says Mr. Brooks), and no doubt but that would still be the consequence of either Nations reducing the other.

That might do very well for any thing I know (says Mr. Grant). However I presume it may be better to do it now by Treaty, than to stay till it be effected the other way.

Since the rest of the Gentlemen seem to be of your Sentiment, (says Mr. Jones) Pray let us proceed to the necessary directions about forming a Scheme to be presented next meeting.

By what Standard, or Rule, do you intend your Scheme shall be drawn? (says Mr. *More*)

You see equality of Taxes, and Trade with a proportionate Representative in Parliament were the Rules about 50 years ago. (says Mr. *May*) Can any one think of better?

I wish we could find some other Standard or Measure, than that of those times (says Mr. *More*). Methinks I should be unwilling to follow, or imitate Rebels, and Usurpers in any thing especially in a matter of this moment

I wish so too (says Mr. *Sands*). Yet in the mean time find my self so much in temper, that rather than want a Rule, methinks I could make shift, with such as was in use even, in those evil times.

I hope our friend Mr. *More*, is only in jest (says Mr. *May*), otherwise I should tell him in earnest, that to oppose, or find fault with good things, because handed from bad Times, bad Men, or perhapps only from such as we do not like, is as little a sign of sound Judgment, as it is of good Nature.

Yet

Yet by this Spirit of Contradiction and Opposition, we may find that not a few of the ill things of the World have had their Rise, and of the good things their Ruin (says Mr. Jones). Particularly, its to be fear'd the matter of the *Union* now before us, did not fare the better in the Reign of King *James*, for being so much in Vogue in that of Queen *Elizabeth*. Nor upon the Restoration for having been so heartily espoused and brought to such Consistency during the preceeding times of Usurpation.

But let us forbear taking any further notice of humours, or the effects of them, and proceed to name some persons to prepare and bring in a Scheme of an *Union* at our next meeting.

Accordingly, upon this motion, Mr. Brooks, Mr. May, Mr. Grant and Mr. Hope, together with Mr. Jones were appointed to draw up a Scheme of an *Union* with *Scotland*, in order to its being presented upon *Wednesday January 16th*, to which time the Society Adjourned the further consideration of this matter.

Wednesday January 16th 1705.

MR. Jones acquainted the Society, that since our last meeting upon this Subject, the Parliament of *England*, to shew their good and friendly disposition to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the better to pave the way to the *Union* had frankly and unanimously concured with our Gracious Queen, in repealing certain Negative, and Prohibitory Clauses in the Act, which past last Sessions for empowering Her Majesty to Appoint Commissioners to Treat of an *Union*.

I was much concerned some months ago (says Mr. May) to find many so warmly inclined, to the passing such Negative and Hostile Laws, with regard to *Scotland*; as thinking this was the way, rather to widen, than to heal our differences; To heighten than to allay the Heats and Animosities among us.

But now it has happily given the Lords and Commons of *England* a noble opportunity, of shewing their Temper and good Disposition.

Are

Are you in *England* likewise apt to do things, when Warm and Angry? (says Mr. Bruce)

You see we, as others, are sometimes troubled with Negative and Prohibitory humours (says Mr. May). But that still we retain the capacity of mending.

Certainly what hath past in our Parliament, with relation to the repealing those Clauses (says Mr. Sands), deserves Commendation to Posterity, and has exprest a Generosity of Mind fit to be imitated by the best, and bravest Nations. And is hoped the Gentlemen of *Scotland* will thereby be induced to make such returns, as may not only fix, and continue, but encrease this friendly and regardful disposition, from which both Nations may hope to reap so excellent fruits.

Now those Hostile Clauses are repealed (says Mr. Bruce). The Act Intituled an Act for the more effectual securing the Kingdom of *England* from the apparent danger, that may arise from several Acts lately past in the Parliament of *Scotland*, looks more like, and corresponds somewhat better with the title, than before. And I hope it shall have

all the good effects in *Scotland*, that can reasonably be expected.

This is certainly the true way to deal with my Countrymen, (says Mr. *Grant*) who tho otherwise a good sort of people, yet like *Reoboam's* Subjects, are now and then apt to be a little stomachfull and stubborn.

7. *Livius*

Dec. 1.

1.8. §. 20.

21,

This puts me in mind of a passage in *Titus Livius* (says Mr. *May*). When the Senate of *Rome* had under consideration, what punishment should be inflicted upon the *Privernates*, a people who had broke their *Federal Union* with the *Romans*.

A Senator, who had been warm against that people, happening to ask one of their Ambassadors or Agents, *What punishment he thought in his Conscience the Privernates deserved for this their breach of League?* Was contrary to expectation answered. *Such as they deserve, who think themselves worthy of Freedom.*

Upon this, the Consul, who had reduced *Privernum*, and was better inclined to its Inhabitants, perceiving those who before were against the *Privernates*, to be still the more exasperated by this Answer, endeavoured by a gentle que-

question to draw from them, some more Modest and Submissive Language.

Accordingly said. *But suppose, we should wholly remit your punishment; what kind of Peace may we then expect with you?* to which the other briefly, but still contrary to expectation, returned. *If a Good and equal Peace, we shall faithfully observe it for ever: But if hard Conditions be imposed, we shall not keep them long.*

What did they with the fellows? (says Mr. North) Did they not order them to be hanged immediately?

Some were eager enough upon courses tending that way (replied Mr. May), who accordingly cried out; *This was plain threatening, and the way to stir up quiet People to Rebellion.*

But there were others, who gave this frank manner of expression a more favourable Construction, (saying) *It was a Speech becoming a Man, and one Free-born.*

That it was not to be expected any State, or indeed any Mortal would endure a bad and uneasie condition any longer; than they needs must: That the Peace can only be Sure and Stable, which is voluntarily entred into.

But

But that fidelity ought not to be expected, where Slavery is imposed.

That they deserved to be Romans, whose Liberty was the greatest part of their Care.

Upon these Considerations, the Senate and People, *not only pardoned the Privernates, but made and declared them Citizens of Rome.*

Thus you see concluded, Mr. May, That after the Romans had reduced *Privernum* they united with it, and that so did the *English* with *Scotland*, among many others that might be given, certainly these two are Lively and Noble Instances, *That Unions were and are good Things.*

After this Mr. Jones said, the Gentlemen, who were appointed to draw up a Scheme for an *Union* with *Scotland*, have concerted their Thoughts thereof in the following Heads, the which he Read, and afterward delivered them in to be entred in our Books.

Heads

Heads proposed for an Union between the Kingdoms of England and Scotland.

1. **T**hat the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland be united into one, by the name of the Kingdom of Britain.

2. That this Kingdom be represented by one Parliament, under the happy Government of our Gracious Queen Anne, and of her Royal Issue, and in default of such Issue, under that of the most excellent Princess Sophia, Electress and Dutches Dowager of Hanover, and the Issue of her Body, being Protestants.

3. That the House of Peers of the Parliament of Britain may consist of the present Peers of England, and of such others, as Her Majesty shall (according to Her Royal Prerogative in that case) from time to time think fit to Create, but whereof not less than twenty, to be of the present Peers of Scotland.

4. That the House of Commons of Britain, do consist of the present representative in the Parliament of England, and
of

of forty others, as the proportion for Scotland.

5. That the Representative for Scotland be proportioned in such manner as the Parliament of that Kingdom shall determine at the time of their Agreement to the Union.

6. That the Church Governments of both Kingdoms of England, and Scotland, thus united, do after the Union, and notwithstanding thereof, remain the same as they now are, without Alteration.

7. That the Municipal Laws and Judicatures of each Nation, do notwithstanding this Union, remain the same without Alteration.

8. That from the time of concluding this Union, there may be a free Communication and Entercourse of Trade, between all the Parts of this united Kingdom and Dominions thereof, and accordingly, that all manner of Restraints, Prohibitions, Monopolies, and Impositions, interfering therewith be taken off, Repealed, and for ever Abolished.

9. As a necessary Consequence of this free Communication and Interourse of Commerce in the Kingdom of Britain, that there be the same Home and Foreign Excises, Customs, and other Taxes and Impositions, as likewise the same Restraints
and

and Prohibitions thro all the Parts thereof.

10. And in regard the Kingdom of Scotland may not at present be capable of bearing such proportion of the Assessments on Land, as in some time, after having reaped the fruits of a happy Union, that therefore, the Quota thereof may not for ——— Tears exceed what has been therein usually paid, nor in any valuations afterwards the Medium of the six Northren Counties of England.

11. That her Majesty will be graciously pleased to consent that a Rent-charge of 30,000 l. per Annum by Quarterly payments, may be made upon her Royal Revenue, untill a Sum of 600,000 l. to be raised thereupon, and allowed to the Kingdom of Scotland, as an equivalent for the present Debts of England, shall come to be repaid.

12. That so much as shall be requisite, of the said Sum of 600,000 l. be in the first place applied to refunding the Expences, and Losses of the Indian and African Company of Scotland, with Interest at the rate of 6 per Cent. per Annum, as likewise for satisfying, such Publick Debts, or Obligations, as there may be in Scotland, at the time of Compleating the Union,
and

and that the remainder thereof may forever be Applied and Appropriated towards a Fund for Employment and Maintenance of the Poor, Supporting, Promoting and Encouraging the Manufactures, Fisheries, Products and Improvements of that End of this Island.

Thus says Mr. Grant, the expence and loss of the *Indian and Affrican Company*, being about 140,000 *l.* Principal Money, which with the Interest at the rate of 6 per Cent for, 11 years, will amount to somewhat more than 230,000 *l.*

And supposing about 100,000 *l.* to be necessary for satisfying the Publick Debts and Ingagements in *Scotland*.

There will remain about 260,000 *l.* which together with the Sums already imposed for the Poor, and the Publick Charities, may be made a Fund for maintaining, and Employing the Poor; and Encouragement of the Fisheries, Manufactures, and other Improvements of that Kingdom.

I like this Expedient for the *Lords* better than any I have hitherto seen, says Mr. Bruce, for here will be no breaking in upon their Constitution by Deputations, Rotations, or such like things, not only quite

quite contrary to the Nature and Dignity of the Peerage; but violently tending to Party and Faction, since those *Deputies* or *Plenipotentiaries* would probably be all of a piece to what side soever they should incline or fall.

But why is not the least number of Lords on the part of *Scotland* fixed at thirty, says Mr. *Shaw*, since possibly that might not only include the most part of the Considerable Families, but contribute the more towards making the remainder easie, as thereby finding themselves in a better way of advancement.

This number of twenty is only pitched upon, as best suiting with that of forty, proposed as their Representative in the House of Commons, replies Mr. *May*, But the Queen is not limited in this matter; there being no doubt but in the Case of an Union, not only 20 or 30 of them but the rest of the Noble Families of that Kingdom will naturally fall under her Majesties Royal Consideration and Care.

I entirely approve of this Expedient for the Peerage, says Mr. *Carr*, and think it not material whether twenty or thirty be the stated number, since
the

the thing has such evident Reason as gives it Weight, to make its way.

But I do not so well understand the quota of Representatives proposed for my Country in the House of Commons, says *Mr. Rose*, as being but 40 to 513, at this rate they may easily out Vote us at any time.

When the two Nations are become one, there neither will nor can be any such thing as out-voting, says *Mr. May*, This Kingdom is at present founded upon its seven Dominions of old; together with those latter Unions with *Wales*, *Chester* and *Durham*: Yet we never heard that *England* went about to out-vote *Wales*, or both of them *Durham* or *Chester*. Were they only to be tyed or tackt together by some Covenant, Confederacy, Agreement or Bargain, there might be ground for scruples, but the proposal being to bring them under one Government, Direction and Interest, it consequently leaves not room for such surmises.

Altho perhaps one cannot in strictness insist for above forty as the Representative of *Scotland*, (says *Mr. Shaw*) yet for the sake of Conveniency I could wish some few more were allowed,
since

since by a Scheme I have lately seen, it appears their Counties and Boroughs cannot very conveniently be cantoned to less than a number of, between Fifty and Sixty.

Altho equality of Taxes and a proportionate Representative be the rules by which those who pretend to reason upon the Affair of the Union ought to steer, says *Mr. Brooks*, yet I doubt not, but upon any Treaty, consideration would be had to the ease and conveniency of the several Counties and Towns of *Scotland*, and if need were, a ready condescension to somewhat more in the Representative, than can be admitted by the strictness of the Rule, provided it may not so far exceed, as to give Just cause of umbrage.

Those who would cordially treat of an *Union*, ought not to range themselves on one side or other, but be for both, says *Mr. May*, not on the part of *England*, nor upon that of *Scotland* as abstractedly taken, but on that of *Britain*, and accordingly nothing should be required nor expected by one side, but what ought to be readily granted by the other ; yet if all was concluded to this point, I doubt not but expedients would be found.

H

Time

Since by the *Union* in the year Sixteen hundred fifty four, the Kingdom of *Scotland* was allowed but thirty in the House of Commons, why then do you now propose forty, says Mr. *More*, especially considering they pretend not to come up to the same proportion of Taxes they then did.

By that *Union* they were allowed thirty to four hundred, replied Mr. *May*, and if 400, 30. 513. $38\frac{1}{2}$, so that we have only in this as in other things, proposed the Grains to them, as to the weaker side, and we have not thought fit to lessen their number in the Representative, because its hoped the fruits of a happy *Union*, may in a few Years enable them, to contribute the same they then did, or possibly a greater proportion of the Taxes, and publick Burthens.

I doubt not but what relates to the number of Representatives in either House of Parliament, may be easily accommodated, when depending on those who have a mind to it (says Mr. *Sands*). But let us come to the Money matters, and in the first place, have your reasons for proposing such ease to the Kingdom of *Scotland* in the point of Assessments on Land.

The

The reason thereof is given in the body of the Article relating thereunto (replied Mr. *Brooks*), and both the Sum and time are left Blank, that it may thereby appear, we pretend not to state, much less to determine this matter.

Some present ease in the matter of the Assessment may perhaps be allowable, provided it be only for a time, and untill they come to be in a better state (says Mr. *Gage*). But why may not those of *Scotland* be afterwards obliged to come in for more than the medium of the six Northern Counties of *England*, since I could never yet understand why we in and about *London* should be thus lyable to contribute our full Four Shillings, when those in the more remote and extreame parts of this Kingdom, pay not two Shillings, perhaps not Twenty-pence in the Pound.

I doubt not but upon enquiry it will be found, that suitable to their circumstances, ease ought to be given and allowances made, to places remote from the Seat of Government and Center of Trade (replied Mr. *May*,) and certainly the Scheme of the year 1656, and the rising of the several Excises in the remoter parts of this Kingdom, together

with the daily experience of those who have Estates in the different places, do sufficiently manifest the truth of this position.

I hope you pretend not to plead for, or countenance such allowances as amount to one half or perhaps to two thirds of the real values (replied Mr. Gage).

That's far from being my meaning (returned Mr. May) altho in the case before us, possibly one third, or were it somewhat more, might not be unreasonable. And in the mean time it ought to be remembred, that the Kingdom of *Scotland*, is still more remote from the Center of Government and Trade, than the six Northern Counties of *England*.

You speak of the Four Shillings in the Pound on Land, as of a certain standing charge (said Mr. Gage), whereas I trust we are far from that hazard, the rest of the Funds with good management being more than sufficient to defray the Publick expence, and discharge the National Debts, if the present War was but once ended, which it's hoped may not be long, from whence I infer that the Gentlemen of *Scotland* seem

seem more afraid in this matter than there is danger of their being hurt, why do not they therefore rather propose to have what they pretend by way of ease, or Equivalent, in Customs, Excises, as some more standing and certain Revenues, than that of the Land Tax.

There is no possibility of making allowances, or Abatements, by way of *Customs* or *Excise*, without creating much greater loss and disorder, not only in the Trade, but likewise in the Publick Revenues, than the benefit to them (replied Mr. May), Wherefore what they have by way of ease or equivalent must necessarily be either in the Assessment, in ready Money, or by both. Accordingly we had regard to this in the following Article, whereby they are to have only 600,000 *l.* as an equivalent for the present Debts of *England*. Although this Sum be considerably less than what in strictness they might otherwise pretend, as you will see by the following Estimate of the Revenues and Debts of the two Kingdoms, from whence we have drawn our Positions,

Upon this, Mr. May, read and delivered in, the following Estimates of the Revenues and Debts of the two Nations.

Estimate of the present Revenues of *England*.

B Y the Customs	l. 1,200,000
Excise on Beer	} 1,100,000
and Ale.	
Salt Excise	180,000
Low-wines, &c.	160,000
Duty on Coals	120,000
By Paper and Parchment	90,000
By the Post-Office	90,000
Small branches	70,000
Malt Tax	600,000
Land Tax	2,000,000
	l. 5,610,000

**An Estimate of what the Revenue
of Scotland may produce when
upon the foot of the present
Taxes of England.**

C ustoms	70,000
Excise on Beer	} 40,000
and Ale	
Malt and Salt Taxes	40,000
Crown-Lands	6,000
Stamped Paper and o- ther small Duties }	10,000
The Land Tax suppose	50,000
	l. 216,000

AN

An Estimate of the present Debts of England.

By the Annuities in the late Reign	}	1,881,745	15	
The Annuities of this Reign	}	5,140,189	13	11½
Bankers Debt		664,263		
Due to the Bank of England	}	1,200,000		
To the New East India Company	}	2,000,000		
Remains of the 1st Deficiencies	}	618,317	15	8
By the second Deficiencies likewise charged upon the Funds commonly called the general Mortgage.	}	2,338,628	15	5½
Arrears of Interest upon the said Debt for about 7 years suppose	}	1,200,000		

Debenture Debt, suppose	1,000,000
On the Low Wine Duties	722,175
On the Additional Subsidies	780,132
On the Lottery Fund	400,000
On the Coal Fund	258,771
Household and other Debts due from his late Majesty, Sup- pose	300,000
Debts contracted since her Majesties Acces- sion to the Crown } Suppose	1,700,000
	20,204,223 14

Considering the Debts which have been Annually contracted since her Majesties happy accession to the Crown, and the present prospect of Affairs, it might be supposed this may be encreased to near if not quite twenty two Millions by the end of the running year. But we have only founded our Propositions upon a Sum of *l.* 21,000,000.

The Government Debts of Scotland are inconsiderable, being, as its said, not above 60,000 *l.* but the expence of their

their Civil Government may after the Union, be supposed to be.

To the Chancellor	l. 2000
Privy Seal	1000
President of the Council	1000
One Secretary of State	1000
President of the Session	1000
Justice General	800
Treasurer Deputy	600
Justice Clerk	600
Register	500
14 Lords of the Session 500 l. each	7000
Queens Advocate	500
Queens Sollicitor	300
Two Clerks of the Council	500

l. 16800

Allowance for Grants, Pen- sions and other extraor- dinary Expences	}	13200

in all l. 30000

So that after the Ex-
pence of the particular
Government of Scot-
land shall be defrayed, } l. 186,000
there will remain of
the Revenue of that
Kingdom an overplus }
of about

And

And 186,000 *l.* the Revenue of *Scotland* being to 5,610,000 the Revenue of *England*, as one is to thirty very near, by dividing 21,000,000 the Debts of *England*, by this number thirty, we found the equivalent to the Kingdom of *Scotland* ought to be 700,000 *l.*

But I observe you make no allowance for the Expence of the Military Government of *Scotland* after the *Union*.
(says Mr. *Sands*)

The Military Expence of the Government of *Scotland* after the *Union*, as taken properly will be very little (says Mr. *Grant*), besides the assistance the Queen will thereby have in her Forces both by Sea and Land, will much more than compensate this expence, [whatever it shall be.

Are you sure your Estimates of the Publick Revenues and Debts are right, and consequently your proportions well stated (says Mr. *More*).

Upon which Mr. *May* said, the Customs and Excises do so very much depend upon the accidents of the War, with other Contingencies, and the National Debts, are continually so decreasing on one side, and increasing on the other, as makes it impossible to form

form an exact state thereof, wherefore we pretend not so much to exactness in the particular Articles, having therein kept up to round Sums, *as we do in the whole*, which we have stated at somewhat more than may be supposed to arise in the time of War, yet at less than may be expected in a time of Peace, and consequently presume those Estimates are so near the truth, as to be sufficiently capable of supporting our Positions and Conclusions.

Besides at the drawing up of this Scheme, it was observed, that the Money proposed to be raised as an Equivalent for the Debts of *England*, was but upon an Interest of 5 per Cent, whereas that of the Annuities here; is of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent per Annum, or upwards, the which, if nicely accounted for, might make a difference of at least 210,000 *l*.

That likewise if due allowances were made for such parts of the Revenue of *England*, as may be charged with Grants, Pensions or otherwise anticipated, this might possibly make another difference of 30 or 40,000 *l*. That altho' the Revenue of *Scotland*, as *all new Duties* may cost some time before it be established, yet afterwards it would be proportionably more improvable than that
of

of *England*; from all which it was inferr'd, that the equivalent for the said Debts might thus Amount to near if not quite 1,000,000 *l*.

But because some of the Gentlemen on the part of *Scotland*, seemed to insist upon a considerable Allowance in the matter of the Assessment on Land, and since a much less Sum may supply the publick occasions of that Kingdom, we stated this equivalent only at 600,000 *l*.

It ought likewise to be remembred (says *Mr. Grant*), That altho the particular and immediate benefit thereof be designed for *Scotland*; yet about one moiety of this Sum of 600,000 *l*. is proposed to be applied to Publick Uses, which will equally redound to the general advantage of this united Island.

If the rest of your Positions be not better founded than your Comparison between this perpetuity of 5 *per Cent* and the Annuities; I fancy they may be easily overthrown (says *Mr. North*), for you seem not to have considered, that the one is a Perpetuity, whereas the other is only for a term of 98 or 99 years.

Pray

Pray what difference in the Purchase do you believe there is between 98 years, and that of a Perpetuity? (says Mr. Brooks).

I have often heard, there is at least 5 or 6 years Purchase difference (replied Mr. North).

There may be that, and much more in the fancies of people (says Mr. Brooks): But by the rules of Compound Interest, there is not six Weeks Purchase difference between a Rent-charge for 98 years, and that of a Perpetuity, at an Interest of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. The very difference between Quarterly and Annual Payments, being capable of discharging the Debt, in less than two thirds of that time.

I therefore am of Opinion that at this Interest of 5 per Cent, the Money will hardly come in (says Mr. More). Why, therefore did you not rather put it at 6, or $6\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent per Annum.

Because (said Mr. Brooks) we were not only for concerting things as reasonably, but likewise for making them as easie as possible: Besides we put the Interest only at 5 per Cent, as being satisfied, this Fund may be so ordered and methodized, as that the Money may not only come in

as well as if it were higher, but so as this whole Debt may be discharged in about the space of 40 Years.

If this can be done, there is certainly a great deal of ill husbandry in our present Funds of Annuities (says Mr. Gage.) But how is it possible?

It may be effected (replied Mr. Brooks) by appropriating a Sum of ready Money of ten *per Cent*, or perhaps somewhat less of the value; for circulating those Securities at an Interest of 4 *per Cent*, or under, and applying the remainder towards paying off the Debt untill it shall come to be discharged: This matter might be enlarged upon, but I shall forbear, untill we come upon the point of *Enquiry into the past and present State of the Trade, and Publick Revenues of England*.

In the mean time, there can be no loss or hazard by this experiment (says Mr. May), Since the Sum to be employed for refunding the *Indian and African Company*, and discharging the Publick Debts in *Scotland*, which are to be paid in the first place, will be but about one moiety thereof, and as the remainder cannot all be laid out and employed together, but must be the work of some

some years, so it will not be required all at once.

I perceive a part of this Equivalent is to be employed in refunding the late losses of the *Indian and African Company of Scotland* (says *More*). I should be glad to be rightly informed in the matter of their late attempts to the *West Indies*, some say, it was an ill ~~founded~~, rash and precipitant undertaking, but others again affirm, that it might not only have had success, but been of the greatest consequence, if duly supported.

The reasons for that undertaking, together with the Causes of its miscarriage and the Consequences thereof (replied *Mr. Jones*), will more properly fall under consideration when we shall be upon the point of Enquiry into the *Consequences and tendency of the late progress of Navigation and foreign Trade, particularly of the New Discoveries in the Indies*.

I very much like the appropriating so considerable a Sum of Money towards employing and relieving the People; Encouraging the Fisheries, Manufactures, and other Improvements in *Scotland* (says *Mr. Gage*) but wish at the same time, we could have a pro-
pro-

portionate Sum applyed to the like uses here in *England*.

Among other happy fruits of the *Union*, I doubt not but it may contribute the introducing of such a Constitution into *England* (returned Mr *May*.) But he who designs such things must think of taking step by step, and doing them by degrees.

But where should we find the Money for so great a design (said Mr. *Gage*), especially in this time of War and Difficulties?

In the same manner as this for *Scotland* is found (replied Mr. *May*), that is to say, by management and good husbandry. *England* is at present at the Annual expence of at least a Million for maintenance of their Poor, yet they hardly half live, if but one moiety of this Income was only settled for 15 years, a Sum of 5 or 6 Millions might be raised upon this Fund; the which, together with the other moiety would with good direction be a sufficient and perpetual provision for the Poor, and Spring for the encouragement of Trade, and Improvements.

But we shall have occasion to Enlarge upon this Subject, when the reasons there are for Establishing a National

onal Council of Trade shall be under consideration.

How came you to propose this Rent-charge of 30,000 *l. per Annum*, to be made upon the Hereditary and Temporary Revenue (said Mr. *More*,) and not rather think of some other way, which might make it more easie?

Because (replied Mr. *May*) the Queens Hereditary and Temporary Revenue of *Scotland*, consisting in Customs, Excises, Crown Lands and small Duties, in value about 80,000 *l. per Annum*, will not only be Improved about one third by the *Union*, but after the compleating thereof, the particular charge of the Government there, will not amount to much more than one third part of the present Expence.

If this be the case (says Mr. *Gage*,) there is no doubt but you have put it upon the best and most reasonable foot; Since it will be but a part of what her Majesty, in her proper Revenue will save by the Oeconomy of the *Union*: But why then did you propose this Charge upon the Revenue in General, and not rather upon that of *Scotland* in particular.

Because

Because (replied Mr. May) we were of opinion, that for the better Oeconomy thereof, the Receipts and Payments of the Publick Revenue, ought as much as possible, to be reduced into one Current or Channel, and that tho' the security would be the same, yet it might be more satisfactory to those here about *London*, who should advance their Moneys upon this Fund, to find it a General charge upon the Revenue in the nature of the three thousand seven hundred pounds *per week*; then only upon the particular Revenue of *Scotland*; the which especially at first, might to them possibly seem too remote.

However it be, I see no great difficulty in fixing the manner of this thing, the matter being the same (says Mr. Grant), since there is no doubt, but that after the *Union* the particular Revenue of *Scotland* will be a sufficient Security for this Charge, as may be seen by our Estimate thereof.

By this Estimate (said Mr. Carr,) I perceive the Kingdom of *Scotland* will by the *Union* be charged with several New Dutys, of which I should be glad to see a State together with

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the

the requisite Observations upon what Effects they may have.

In order to the better understanding the Nature and Effects of those Duties (said Mr. May) it will be first necessary to have a state of the Weights and Measures of the two Nations.

Upon which Mr. May delivered a Paper containing the state of the Weights and Measures of the two Nations, together with that of the several Duties as they now stand, which are as follow

NB. However in the practise there is difference, the right French Troy Ounce being near half per Cent. better than the Scottish.

The Weight in Scotland, upon which not only their other Weights, but likewise their Liquid and Dry Measures are founded, is the French Troy Ounce, being about one and four fifths per Cent. lighter than ours, but their Pound consisting of sixteen Ounces, whereas that of ours is only of twelve.

There is no doubt but this Ounce was originally the same with ours, and that its only time and neglect hath made this difference.

The Scottish Pint, upon which all their Wet and Dry Measures are founded, ought to weigh of the running Water of Leith
fifty

fifty five of those Ounces, and to contain about 99 square Inches. Consequently their three Pints being as 297 is to 282, five per Cent. better than our Beer Gallon, near 103 of such Pints going to our Beer Barrel.

Their ordinary Peck consists of $21\frac{1}{4}$ of such Pints, but the Peck used for Oats, Barly and Malt contains near 31 of such Pints; and their Boll consists of four such Pecks; thus their ordinary Peck is about one fifteenth part less than our Bushel, but the extraordinary about a fourth part more.

The Duties upon the Importations are much lower in Scotland than in England, and consequently they will be considerably raised by the Union.

In England, the Strong Beer and Ale with the Additional Nine-Pences is 4 s. 9 d. but the Small Beer is but 15 d. per Barrel Excise.

The standing Excise of Beer and Ale in Scotland is, of three of their Pennies, or an English Farthing per Pint, and consequently about 2 s. 2 d. our Barrel, but with the Additional Two-Pennies, which hath been sometimes impos'd, would be near 3 s. 8 d. per Barrel.

But considering that at least two thirds of their common Beer and Ale can by the rules of the Excise pass only for Small-Beer, their Beer Excise will not upon the whole be heavier than now it is.

During this time of War, there hath been Annually imposed four Shillings per Quarter, or Six-Pence per Bushel on Malt here in England.

There is likewise a Duty of 3 s. 4 d. per Bushel on Salt, and another by Stamp Paper and Parchment,

The Duties on Marriages, Births and Burials are not to be continued after the first of August next.

Besides these, there is only a small Duty on Glass Windows, but so inconsiderable in England, that we thought it not worth a place on our Schemes, and therefore left it open towards making up such Deficiencies as may be in some other Estimates.

After having viewed the state of the Weights and Measures together with that of the several Impositions of the two Nations given in by Mr. May, Mr. Shaw said, I understand that by those new and additional Duties, the Customs or foreign Excise in Scotland will, in several cases, possibly be doubled, how then will that Nation be able to bear it ?

Your

Your Countrymen (replied Mr. May) will herein be but oblig'd to pay a small part of what they directly gain by the Communication of Trade, besides those Duties may be made much easier, by being laid more by way of Excise, and on the Consumption, and consequently less upon the Merchant and Navigation than they now are.

I take it for granted, says Mr. Carr, that in what quantities or manner soever the Impositions on Foreign Trade shall be laid, they must still be equal in all the parts of the United Kingdom, otherwise the Communication of Commerce, which is so essential a part of the Union, can never subsist. But the Question with me is, how those of Scotland will be able to pay the Additional Excise on Beer and Ale?

I see not that there will be any Additional Excise on Beer and Ale, introduced into Scotland by the Union, (replied Mr. May) since at least two thirds of the Malt Drink of that Kingdom, cannot be reckoned otherwise than Small Beer, so that upon the whole the Duty will be little if any thing heavier than it now is.

By what I have observed in the practice in several parts of *England*, (said Mr. *Bruce*) I am apt to think, the Beer Excise in *Scotland*, will after the *Union*, be near, if not quite, as easie as now, wherefore I am not so much in doubt about that, as the Malt Tax, which will be altogether new, and as I apprehend it, very heavy.

Even in the Malt Tax, of which you seem so very apprehensive, (replied Mr. *Brooks*) the *Scottish* Nation will only be brought in to pay a part of their Gain, since the value of the Duty will be doubly compensated in the advance of the price of Malt, Barly and Oats, by means of the Communication of Trade; besides, this Excise upon Malt is only from Year to Year, during this time of War.

But you have not the like to say of the Excise on Salt, (replied Mr. *Bruce*) the which is not only perpetual, but being 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* per Weigh, is at least three times the Original Value thereof.

Salt exported or imployed in the Fisheries, is altogether free from this Duty, (returned Mr. *May*) besides, instead of any disadvantage, the Raisers of Salt in *Scotland* will have a great deal

deal of benefit by the *Union*, since it will create a much greater Consumption and demand for that Commodity. And thus I doubt but the Duty on Salt will be found as easie and supportable as any other.

I am glad to find the Tax on Births, Burials, &c. will not be continued after the first Day of *August* next, (said Mr. *Rose*) its enough that Mankind must expect to be pestered with Duties and Difficulties in their passage thorough, but a great deal too much, to find Impositions upon their very coming into, and going out of the World.

Since the Duties on Stamp Paper and Glass Windows will be very inconsiderable in *Scotland*, and not very much relate to Trade, (said Mr. *Shaw*) I hope if we of that Kingdom shall be brought in for all the rest, they will at least abate us those.

The *Union* (replied Mr. *May*) is proposed to be founded upon the principles of Justice and Equality, and consequently cannot possibly admit of the least abatement or difference in the point of Taxes or Contributions, for otherwise it would not be properly an *Union*, but rather a Contract or Bargain.

After

After all, I am not yet convinc'd (said Mr. *Shaw*) that ease or forbearance of some of the Excises, particularly those on Malt and Salt, would be so inconsistent with the *Union* and Communication of Trade, as is usually represented, since those Commodities might in the mean time be prohibited from coming into *England*.

The least root or remainder of Restraints or Prohibitions, (replied Mr. *May*) would not only be wastful and destructive in it self, but the occasion of dangerous Animosities and Struggles, wherein altho' both would be losers, yet the weakest still the most, and therefore it is that those who will endeavour a happy *Union*, especially on the part of *Scotland*, ought to avoid the very appearances thereof.

But the jealousies of those new and additional Duties will appear still the less excusable, when it shall be considered, that the very Advantages the particular Commodities will receive in the rise of their Price at home, by means of their currency abroad, will much more than compensate these Impositions.

And

And that not only these, but all the others will receive the like benefit, such as their Corn, Cattle, Linnen, Cloath, or whatever else is, or shall be produced by that Country, as likewise the labour of their People will be raised at least 20 *per Cent*, or one sixth part in a very little time, and afterward be upon a foot of continual advance.

And thus, supposing the People of *Scotland* to be in number one Million, and that as matters now stand, their Industry yields them only about five Pounds *per Annum per Head*, as reckoned one with another, or five Millions yearly in the whole, at this rate these five Millions will by the *Union*, not only be advanced to six, but put in a way of further improvement, and allowing 100,000 *l. per Annum* were on this foot to be paid in Additional Taxes, yet there would still remain a yearly Sum of about 900,000 *l.* towards subsisting the People more comfortably, and making provision against times of scarcity and other accidents, to which I understand that Country is very much exposed.

I am of Opinion, (said Mr. *Grant*) that if such a Sum, as is now proposed for the encouragement of the Trade of that Kingdom, had between the Years 1689 and 1695 been laid out in Stores of Corn for Publick Support, that besides other great advantages, it had been capable of saving at least 80,000 Lives, which perished or were otherwise lost for want, and 400,000 *l.* in Money exported for Bread, during their five following Years of Scarcity and Famine. The which hath chiefly contributed towards bringing that Nation so low as it now is, especially as being attended with the Expences and Losses they had in their Attempts to their *West-Indies*, and followed by the bad effects of some uneasie Tempers who instead of endeavouring to establish their Country by good and wholesome Provisions, after that miscarriage, have made shift to Restrain and Prohibit away what little Trade there still remained.

Altho' the impatience of my Countrymens Tempers, (said Mr. *Hope*) hath not hitherto allowed them to be very provident in publick things, yet considering the uncertainty and rigours of their Seasons, where the years of Plenty are almost

almost always fore-runners of those of Dearth and Scarcity, I wonder how they could so long avoid making National provisions of Corn.

In other Countries as well as yours, (said Mr. *Brooks*) Extremities (like the Years of Plenty and Scarcity formerly in *Egypt*) commonly produce one another, and as there is no doubt but all Governments ought to make suitable Provisions for Contingencies, so those particularly whose Countries are exposed to the greatest uncertainties.

But instead of the Oeconomy you seem to mean, (replied Mr. *Hope*) my Countrymen usually take quite another, and as I understand it, contrary course as may be seen by their practise. In Summer 1695, they were very busie in giving rewards for having their Corn carried abroad, and in a few Months after, as impatiently employed in buying it back again.

Possibly, they may have learned this piece of management from us, (said Mr. *Brooks*) for we too, are inclinable to give *premiums* to have our Corn carried away, when cheap, and as eager in giving the same or greater Allowances to fetch it back again when dear. If half the Money which during

ring the last Age, hath been confounded this way, had, on the contrary been employed in National Graneries, the price of Grain might thereby have not only been kept upon an equal and current foot, to the great advantage of the raisers thereof, but by this time, the National Stock thereby increased to the value of several Millions.

Do you then by means of this Stock, intend to make a Monopoly of the Graneries, Fisheries, and such other things, (said Mr. *Rose*.)

We pretend not in the least to hinder any from buying or selling those or any other Commodities, (replied Mr. *May*) but on the contrary, rather to help such as shall need assistance, our design being only, by buying, to prevent the price of Grain from falling extreme low, and by selling, from rising extreme high, and still not so much with a prospect of particular advantage of the Stock as to that of the Publick, for which its wholly designed to be employed.

At this rate, you must needs expect to be losers in whatever you deal, (replied Mr. *More*.)

You

You will doubtless find reasons to have other sentiments in this matter, (returned Mr. *Grant*) when you shall consider, that the Kingdom of *Scotland*, is one way or other, at considerably more than one hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum* Expence towards the maintenance of their Poor, and that yet they hardly half live. Now suppose this Annual Income were for 15 or 20 Years applied to the like Uses, with the Sum now proposed for the encouragement of Trade, and maintenance of the Poor of that Nation; do not you think that with any thing of a tollerable management, a great deal might be thereby gained or saved.

A bad Oeconomy, (said Mr. *Brooks*) is still better than none, upon the drawing up of this Scheme it was observ'd, that in such case it might be hoped, the Poor should, during that time, be better maintained, the Fisheries put in a way of raising and keeping up 15 or 20,000 Seamen, the which would of course make room for the imployment of at least ten times as many Hands on Shore. Finally, that Nation thereby put in a way not only of maintaining their Poor better than they now do, but likewise of increasing this Stock at
less

less than half the present Wast and Expencc.

Upon the whole, (said Mr. *Hope*) I am fully convinc'd that without a Communication of Government and Taxes, the *Union* can never be equal, and consequently not an *Union*, but rather an Agreement or Bargain, which if ever made, one may venture to say, it will not be easie or hold long. That the increase of Taxes in *Scotland*, when ballanc'd with the advantages of the *Union*, will be very inconsiderable, and for that reason, were there no other, ought chearfully to be acquiesced in.

After this there was Silence, and Mr. *Jones* observing that every one seemed to Acquiesce in what Mr. *Hope* had said, and consequently that the present Conversation upon this Subject was near a conclusion, said, Gentlemen, you have now the point of an *Union* fully before you, my Advice therefore is, that we adjourn the further, or rather re-consideration thereof, for some Weeks, that we may hereby have an opportunity, not only to recollect our selves, but likewise have the thoughts of our Friends.

Upon which motion, the Company adjourned this point to *Wednesday* the 27 *February*.

Wed

Wednesday, February 27. 1705:

After several Letters from York and other Places were read, Mr. Carr desired to know, in what manner the Ports of Entry were proposed to be settled in Scotland.

Upon which Mr. May said, it was his Opinion, seven or eight Ports of Entry might be sufficient for that Kingdom, the which ought to be such as lie most convenient for Trade, and are best for Collecting and Securing the Customs; but that this matter with that of the different Coins, Weights and Measures, and other such things, may be regulated after the Union shall be concluded.

The Coin in Scotland (said Mr. Shaw) was alter'd about twenty Years ago, that is to say, it was raised in its Denomination, or sunk in its Value, about a thirteenth part. I could never yet understand whether my Countrymen have gained or lost by this project.

R^e You

You may assure your self (replied Mr. May) that they, as well as other States, who have been drawn into this silly and destructive secret of altering their Coin, are considerable loosers.

But is there any ways, of discovering the quantities of Loss and Gain herein, and consequently the certainty of this position of yours, (says Mr. Grant.)

This evil (replied Mr. May) is very subtil, and therefore all the particular mischiefs and disorders thereby occasioned, especially at home, cannot so easily be described, but the knowledge of the rates of Exchange, together with the Sums remitted or negotiated, are capable of giving great light into such of its effects as directly relate to foreign Trade.

Since our last Meeting upon this Subject, (said Mr. Rose) I have had much Converse with several of my Countrymen, who still affirm, that an entire or incorporating Union as they call it, will undoubtedly ruin Scotland, since it must certainly draw, all the remaining People and Money from thence.

Did you not tell them, (says Mr. Brooks) the Union we promoted, was not meerly entire, incorporating or federal, but only a plain upright Union.

So

So I told them, (returned Mr. Rose) yet they still insisted, that if we United the Parliaments it would be the same thing. That their Country was already sufficiently drained by the perpetual recourse to *London* for Places and Preferments, and how much more must it be so, if to this there shall be likewise added, that of Representatives in Parliament.

Is this all? (said Mr. Sands?)

Is it not enough (replied Mr. Rose?)

Yes, (said Mr. May) and a great deal too much, if true, but when duly examined, I doubt not but this will be found so far from being capable to be made an objection on the part of *Scotland*, that it is the principal motive, and ought above all other things to induce the *Scottish* Nation to desire an *Union*, since, were the *Union* compleat, all the expence of those who should come to Court or Parliament, would perhaps not amount to more than it now doth, and that is not 5 per Cent. or a twentieth part of what that Nation would naturally gain by the *Union*.

I wish we could hear that made out, said Mr. Rose.)

To begin then with the expence of Parliament, (returned Mr. May) do you think that 40 *s. per Day* to the Lords and Commons one with another, during the Session thereof, might not defray their necessary expence.

Doubtless it might, (replied Mr. Rose.)

Then (continued Mr. May) let us suppose 40 *s. per Day* to sixty Persons, (*viz.*) twenty Lords and forty Commoners, for four Months, or one hundred and twenty Days, To how much doth that amount?

I find it 14,400 *l. per Annum*, (replied Mr. Rose.)

Then 14,400 *l.* is the expence of the Parliament, the which likewise includes the greatest part of that of the Court, (returned Mr. May) on the other hand, you ought to consider, that as matters now stand, the Commissioner to your Parliament hath every Year 3500 *l.* allowed for his Equipage, besides 55 *l. per Day* for at least such 120 Days, the which amounts to 10,100 *l.* and if to this, you reckon the Annual Sums allowed to your Officers of State, and others, as Expences for their coming up to *London*, that may possibly amount to near, if not quite

quite so much more, thus the very Government of Scotland is now at more Expence in this matter, than the Nation need to be at after the Union shall be compleat.

Its true, were your Law Suits to come up to London, at so great a distance, it might possibly be a damage to that Country one way or other, at least five times this Sum; but as it is, you may now see, how easie it will be.

I have formerly had this Objection, or rather scruple, under consideration, (said Mr. Grant) but upon examination soon found it groundless.

I likewise (said Mr. Hope) have found sufficient reasons to be of Mr. Grants opinion, not only from the state of the Facts, which Mr. May has urged, but also from other reasons, the which as unnecessary I forbear to mention,

After this, there was Silence for some time, which Mr. Jones observing, said, To the point, Gentlemen, is there any more objections?

Upon which Mr. Stone said, I have been hitherto silent, as being willing to hear what others could say to the point of this Union, and upon the whole, do think the objections or doubts

on the part of the Gentlemen of *Scotland* are either ill grounded, or very frivolous, since certainly, without entering into particulars, one may easily see, how greatly that Nation will be advantaged by such an *Union*, as is proposed, but I am of opinion, you have hitherto heard but one side, and that on the part of *England*, there are insuperable difficulties against it.

When Mr. *Stone* had thus express'd himself, the Gentlemen looked upon one another, as if in some surprize; which Mr. *Jones* perceiving, said, Pray let us have some of your doubts, Sir, you see the Gentlemen are attentive.

Here hath been a mighty stress put upon their Church, their Nobility, their Laws, and I know not what else, (continued Mr. *Stone*) whereas, what signifies it what Church Government, so we have but the Christian Religion and Liberty of Conscience, or what Laws or from whence they come, so they be but good, or how many or what sort of Nobility, so we can prevail with them to do but little hurt, but its the Trade of *England* which must maintain and support the Churchmen, the Nobility, the Lawyers, and every thing else, yet its this Trade which now runs

runs the risque of being distracted and ruined by your Union. As the Case already stands, a Man cannot get above 10 or 15 per Cent. per Annum by his Money in Trade, whereas, I have known the time when 20 or 25 per Cent. per Annum was to be got, thus Trade is already half ruined, and what confounds it, but only too many Traders, had we but half the Traders, we should be in a better condition: But how then must it be when we admit the Scots among us, certainly one Man will not be able to live by another; for my part I have followed Trade above these 40 Years, and never knew so bad times as now, insomuch that I have already some thoughts of leaving it off, but should this Union be concluded, it will certainly determine me, I shall retire and live upon what I have. A Man had better take 6, 7, or perhaps 8 per Cent. of the Government for his Money, wherein there is no risque or trouble, than besides his labour and pains to run the hazard of his Estate in Trade for double this prospect.

I presume, (said Mr. Sand's) Mr. Stone may venture to leave off Trade, as having not only been many Years

a Dealer, but as I am inform'd, got pretty well by it, at which I do not wonder, since by what he says, his Heart appears to have been so very much in it, as to leave him little room or inclinations for any thing else.

What should I mind but my Trade and Family, (returned Mr. Stone) I think that's taking care of the Publick, or at least of my part of it, my business has always been to take advantages where they could be had, and to make the best of things, as I found them, without troubling my self about, or pretending to mend the World, as not a few idle People are apt to do, I observe few of these Fellows ever get any thing, but rather spend what they have; some indeed there are who have got considerable Estates by those sort of things, but those have only been such, who altho' they made the Publick business their pretence, yet were so wise as to make it subservient to their Interest.

Since Mr. Stone (said Mr. May) seems so unwilling to be questioned for following his proper business, or taking care of his Family, its strange he should not at the same time have leisure to think, that Church-men, Nobility,

Law-

Lawyers, and those of other Professions, may possibly apprehend themselves as much concerned to support their Stations and ways of Living, as Merchants, or other sort of Traders do that of theirs, likewise that those who are paid and employed by the Publick, ought to take the same care thereof, as private Men of their Families, that the ill success of those who have Publick Spirits, is an evil which ought to be rectified in all Governments, particularly in ours, as I doubt not but this Society will sufficiently find, when they come to enquire into those matters.

Those who have the charge of Governments, (said Mr. Brooks) are commonly better paid, and have more advantageous returns, than Heads or Masters of Families usually find, and there is no doubt, but the People in their charge should be as carefully and tenderly lookt after, particularly it ought to be their business not only to protect, but as much as possible to assist every honest industrious Man in his way, yet so, as not to give to any one, or number of them such advantages, as may be detrimental to the Community, for which they are equally concerned.

I must confess (says Mr. *Sands*) that in the disorders of a State, especially when risen to a considerable height, its very discouraging to find not a few of the Fault-finders, rather qualified for marring than for mending them, as having every whit as much ignorance, and many more conceits and prepossessions, than those, who in a selfish way or humour are against all alterations.

Altho' (said Mr. *Brooks*) the Ignorance and Emptiness of not a few of those who pretend to Reforms, may be stumbling Blocks to the Blind, or to such who look only to appearances, yet since we do, and posterity must owe all their excellent things to some or other, who have or shall first introduce them: Men of an extensive and superiour Genius by, those who would be reckoned the most valuable part of Mankind, ought not to be the less but rather the more prized and valued.

To come to the point, (said Mr. *May*) I think the objections, or rather doubts, which Mr. *Stone* has raised, may more properly be used as reasons for than against the *Union*, since even his proper Conduct, as well as other parts of our Experience, sufficiently convinces

convinces us that, its in the Numbers, good Disposal and Imployment of their People, that the Wealth, Power and Happiness of Governments, or Nations doth consist.

Its true, when as in our present Case, a considerable part of the People, either are not imployed at all, or at least not half so profitably as they might, thus indeed instead of doing good, they serve only to be a dead weight upon the others, for Mankind must consume, whether they work or not.

But where will you find work for them, (says Mr. Stone) in some heat.

I doubt not (replyed Mr. May) but the Imployments now on foot, if well lookt after would be found capable of great improvements, but without entering into the detail of them, I shall only Instance the Fisheries and Graneries, already mentioned, the which are in a manner new, and with their necessary dependencies only, might be made more than sufficient to imployed and subsist all the idle People of the three Kingdoms.

But will not the *Hollanders* be against you (objected Mr. Stone) I have heard much talk of these Fisheries, but they always say it will ruin the *Dutch*.

If

If those are the sentiments of any, (returned Mr. May) it must be only of such whose Education hath been so much in the Negative part of Trade, as to disable them from coming up to the Affirmative, who consider Trade only as a little Monopoly or Intrigue, and not as the general scope of the Industry of the World, and that consequently Trade is still capable of being encreased, as People shall be multiplied and imployed, upon whose numbers and labours it wholly depends.

And upon this foundation it is, and from those motives, I profess my self to be one of those, who believe that, tho the proper Fisheries of these British Islands might greatly help us, yet it would not, at least need not hinder the *Dutch*: For instance, suppose there are two Millions of people in the three Kingdoms, who do not half live, and that the other half of their maintenance was made out upon Fish, by having Stores thereof in all the considerable places, in order to their being distributed as occasion should require, this might be capable of Consuming at least two thousand Last per week more than there now is, which at but 10 *l.* per Last would be upwards of the yearly value of a Million.

In-

Instances might likewise be given of the Granaries, and other things, but as not being directly to our point, I shall refer them to a more convenient opportunity.

Provided they bring meat in their mouths (said Mr. Stone) that is to say, new Employments, and ways to subsist along with them, *Unite* them, with all my heart, otherwise, as I told you, I am sure it will not do. After Mr. Stone had expressed himself to this purpose, he took his leave of the Company.

Upon which Mr. May said, I have often heard the *Hollanders* clamoured against, for their Oeconomy and Industry, the things in the world, for which they deserve the greatest Commendation, but this hath always been either from Ignorant or Envious people, such lovers of themselves, as hate all others, and therefore deserve no credit with Humane Race. For my part I believe not that we, or any other Nation would have more, but rather the less Trade were there no such people as the *Dutch*: It's plain, Trade in those parts of the world has greatly encreased during the last Century, wherein the *Netherlanders* have had their rise: And notwithstanding the advantages

vantages some few, might make of the present *Dutch Markets*, untill by their laziness and presumptions, they had ruined them, or diverted *Trade* another way, yet I am of opinion, the fall of the *Dutch* would bring the *Commerce* of the World as extensively taken upon the decline.

All Trading Nations have found in their turns, that meer Buyers and Sellers, Negotiators, or Money getters, are not only the worst Judges, but the most prejudiced against all the most generous and extensive parts of *Trade*, and to pass by many other Instances that might be given, it was by the fatal Advice and Conduct of their purblind and selfish Negotiators, that the *Hans* Towns first restrained and prohibited away almost all the *Trade* of this side of the world, which they had possessed for some Ages, and with a little more Industry but less presumption might in all probability have preserved to this day; and after them the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* have hedged out, the vast advantages they might otherwise have had by the *Indies*, and that which humanly speaking might otherwise have raised them to be the greatest people ever was, has been thus the

the principal means of bringing them so low, as we now find they are.

We need not go so far as the *Hans Towns*, or to *Spain* or *Portugal*, (said Mr. Grant) to find the fatal effects of such narrow, selfish and contracted Views, since we have enough of them at Home. Among which the ruin of the Fishery in *Scotland*, which hath by much the greatest Conveniencies for it of any other Country in Christendom, is, in my opinion, one of the most eminent and surprizing Instances.

I have often heard (said Mr. Gage) that there are great Conveniencies for the Fisheries in *Scotland*, but never, that they made any considerable use of them.

By the accounts of those times returned, Mr. Grant, I find that Nation had a great interest, and made considerable progress in the Fishing for near an Age together, (*viz.*) from the year 1470, till about the time of the Reformation.

How did they make shift, said Mr. Gage, to chase away the Fishery, since we hear the Fishes are there still.

Only by this Witchcraft and Enchantment of Restraints and Prohibitions, replied Mr. Grant.

But was this done by the Government, said Mr. Shaw?

Yea

Yea by the Government of *Scotland*,
replied Mr. *Grant*,

That's somewhat too severe upon our
Country (said Mr. *Shaw*). Do you
think, ever the Government of *Scotland*
could be capable of discouraging their
Fishing, which they could not but be
sensible, was the most considerable thing,
that either did, or possibly could belong
to their Country.

I do not say, they intended it (says
Mr. *Grant*) ; people are sometimes
apt to do the greatest hurt, when they
do not intend it, or perhaps intend any
thing at all.

It may be so (replied Mr. *Shaw*), but
I shall never believe the Government
of *Scotland* prejudiced their Fishing, un-
less you can shew it me upon Re-
cord.

Then to come to matters of Record,
returned Mr. *Grant*, In the fifteenth
Century, the Parliament of *Scotland*,
by several of their Acts, gave great en-
couragement to their Fisheries, which
was then in a flourishing condition par-
ticularly, by the 49th Act of the 4th
Parliament of King *James* the IV. *
which mentions the great and innume-
rable riches (as its there expressed),
which were lost to that Kingdom; for want
of

* Anno
1493.

of convenient. Ships, and Busses, to be employed in Fishing, wherefore for the great advantage, that might thereby be had, and to cause idle Men and Vagabonds to labour for their livings, and for eschewing of vice and idleness, and the common profit and universal well-fare of the Realm, his Majesty and Estates of Parliament appoint, that Fishing Ships and Busses of 20 Tuns burthen or upwards, be made in all Burroughs and Towns of the Realm, in proportion to the Ability and Substance of each Town.

This with several Acts and Encouragements given before, and about that time, brought the Fishing of Scotland and consequently the Naval Forces, and other Improvements of that Kingdom to a considerable height, but to my Countrymens great misfortune, their Conceits and presumptions were increased at least in proportion, as you may see by another Act of their Parliament. Passed within less than half an Age after this good disposition, ^{†. 98. Act} whereby among other things, it is En- ^{7. Parlia-}acted, That no Man, Merchant, or others, ^{ment.} should send any White Fish out of the Realm, ^{James 5.} but permit Strangers to come and buy them, ^{1540.} of Merchants or Free-Men of Burroughs

L with

with ready Gold, or Silver, or bartering
of sufficient Merchandise.

To pass over several other Acts of
less moment, as they stand in the Sta-
tute Book, I shall come to the 6th of
4th Parliament of King James the VI.
by which they at once totally ruined
and confounded the Fishing, and where-
by it's declared. That for as much as it
was heavily complained, how that the whole
slayers of all kind of Fishes within the
Realm, not regarding the Acts made by
our Sovereign Lords dearest Predecessors,
which are that when Herring and White
Fish are slain, they ought to be brought to
the next adjacent Burrough or Towns, where
the slayers thereof do dwell, to the effect,
that the Leiges may be first served. And
that if abundance hath occurred, they may
be salted, and transported by free Bur-
gesses.

By the neglect whereof, our Sovereign
Lord is greatly defrauded of his Customs,
and the good Subjects of this Kingdom
wants the fruits of the Sea, appointed by
God for their nourishment. And the Bur-
gesses, and Freemen of Burroughs disappoin-
ted of their Trafick and Commodity.

Therefore our Sovereign Lord, with
advice and consent of his Regents Grace,
and

and the Estates of Parliament: Ordaines,
That all Fishers, and others whatsoever,
who shall happen to slay any Herring, or
Whitefish, do bring the same to free Ports,
there to be Sold, first commonly to all the
Subjects, and afterwards the remainder to
Freemen, under pain of forfeiture of the Ships,
and of all the movables of the Offenders.

How was it possible (said Mr. More)
for any Parliament, or indeed any num-
ber of Men, to be drawn into the se-
cret of such sorts of Acts as these, cer-
tainly had the greatest Enemies of that
Country been its Councillors, they
could hardly have devised so destructive
a Monopoly, or if they had, surely,
they would have been more generous
and humane than to have Imposed
it.

This matter being over (said Mr.
May) the Effects thereof are more easi-
ly seen, but I wish we in this Nation
had not some restraints and prohibi-
tions, now on foot every whit as unac-
countable as this Monopoly was, we
may be sure those of Scotland, were then
as full of, and as presumptuously con-
ceited of their Fisheries, as we now are
of our Wool, Woollen manufactures,
and some other things, and according-
ly the advisers thereof, insinuated to their

Prince and Parliament, That no other Nation had such quantities of Fish conveniences for Fishing, nor so many well Experienced Fishers: That there was no doubt but strangers would not only run the risque of the Sea, in those times reckoned much more terrible than now, to fetch the Fish from Scotland, but if need were buy them at any rate. That, as matters stood, the silly ignorant Fishermen sold their Fish for half nothing, and this too to Strangers, by which means the Natives, not only paid dearer for their Fish, but the King lost his Customs, and the Nation vast advantages.

Behold (said Mr. Sands) just such another heap of Clamorous prejudices and Inconsistencies as we have from (Mr. Stone); This confirms me in my former sentiments, that Merchants are the worst and most dangerous advisers in matters of Trade.

This may possibly be said of Merchants in a limited sense (said Mr. May), that's to say of meer Buyers and Sellers, whose Business and Prejudices allow them not means nor time to enter into Consequences; who to get one or perhaps but half *per Cent* more for a Commodity, care not who loses, or what others

others may suffer, and, who for this reason, are not only for limiting Trade to their own Countries, but to their own Towns, or even to their own Houses, if they could tell how.

But Merchants, in an extended sense are quite another sort of men, their Education Genius. General scope of knowledge of the Laws, Governments, Politiy, and managements of the several Countries of the World, allowing them sufficient room and opportunity, not only to understand Trade as abstractedly taken, but in its greatest extent, and who accordingly are zealous promoters of free and open Trade, and consequently of Liberty of Conscience, General Naturalizations, Unions and Annexions.

If Unions be so good things (said Mr. Gage) especially in relation to Trade. why do not you, likewise propose the uniting with Ireland.

Let us first see how this with Scotland shall prove (replied Mr. May) and afterwards we may have a fitter occasion to consider of Ireland.

Hold, said Mr. Gage, altho I am for uniting Scotland, because only another part or piece of this Island: yet I know not what to say in the case of Ireland, and other remote places, possibly by

the aid of the Sea, the opportunities of dark Nights or dark Times at least, those fellows may be tempted to run away with our Trade, indeed, were there a Bridge between us and Ireland, I should be for an *Union* likewise with that Nation, but since there is nothing of this, not a word of an *Union* with Ireland I beseech you.

Altho we have not a Stone-bridge as at *Berwick*, (returned Mr. *May*) yet we have a better, I mean our Wooden-bridge, or Shipping, and am of opinion that the uniting of Ireland, as likewise what other Dominions the *Queen* either hath, or shall have, would be the most effectual way not only of improving those places, but for strengthening and preserving this noble and valuable Bridge between us, and if the present *Union* before us goes forward, I trust it shall produce other *Unions* and good things.

After all (said Mr. *Rose*), I see nothing in all these noisy Objections, or rather Clamours, whether from one side, or the other, against the *Union*, they appear to me rather to be the effects of Ignorance, ill Nature, bad Intentions, or all of them, than an any thing else, yet in order to the
humour.

humouring some people; what if we should propose this *Union* only for a space of years, and thus they may have an opportunity, to try how it will do: Methinks this for ever is so long a time.

You are mistaken Mr. *Rose*. It's no time at all, said Mr. *May*, smiling, but however, if you will we shall propose it as one of the Conditions, that after 10. 15. 20 or such like number of years, upon two or three years notice, and your Countrymens refunding what they have during that time gained by the *Union*, you may be at liberty to set up again for your selves.

Do you think (said Mr. *Sands*), that *Ireland* would desire this Condition, if an *Union* with them was proposed, or that *Wales*, or *Berwick* would make use of this Liberty if they had it.

I believe not (said Mr. *Grant*) and dare even venture my Countrymen upon this point,

I suppose (said Mr. *Jones*), the Gentlemen have done with the business, since they are so very merry, if so, Pray let us adjourn the summing up of this matter to some convenient time, mean while we shall see, what other Objections may brought against the *Union*.

(152)

Accordingly the Company adjourned till *Wednesday* the third of *April* next.

Wednesday April 3. 1706.

MR. *Jones* said, That since our last meeting, her Majesty had been Graciously pleased to nominate Commissioners for both Kingdoms, to Treat of an *Union*, and since every thing seemed to concur in promising a happy Issue to this Treaty, it was therefore requisite we should conclude our present proceedings on this Subject, in order to the transmitting them to our friends in the Country.

Mr. *May*, said he, readily concurred with this motion, but first desired to know, if there were any other Objection, or material difficulties to be offered against the *Union*.

After silence for some time Mr. *Sands* said, he was not only fully convinced of the great benefits and advantages of the *Union*, but that there neither was, or possibly could be any reasonable Objection against it.

Mr.

Mr. *Brooks*, said, he had never yet heard any thing said or objected against the *Union*, but what, when duly weighed and examined, was really found an argument for it.

Mr. *Grant* said, that by all his Enquiries, he never yet found any true Reason, or or real Objection against the *Union*, but that the Doubts, Difficulties or Clamours on all sides, have either proceeded, from Ignorance, Humour, secret Motives, or from all of them, that the thing was easie, if people have a mind to it, which after so many mischiefs and misfortunes befallen this Island for want thereof, he hoped they now had,

And there being again silence for some space, at last Mr. *Jones* said,

Gentlemen,

After having had the affair of the *Union*, directly before you for several Months, wherein after a full view, of what hath been done or intended therein, as likewise of the state of the two Nations, you have found reason, to be of opinion, that not any sort of League, Confederacy, Limitation, Agreement or Bargain, or indeed any thing less, or below a Compleat *Union*, can introduce the good, which may be justly
ex-

expected therefrom, or effectually deliver these Nations from the mischiefs and inconveniencies, they labour under, and are exposed unto, for want thereof.

That nothing less than a Compleat *Union* can effectually secure the Religion, Laws, Liberties, Trade, and in a word the Peace, and Happiness of this Island.

You have observed, that the reduction of *Scotland* in the late Intestine War, not only produced a *Union* of course; but considering the then Circumstances upon so reasonable and equal terms. That had something like this *Union* been suited unto, and continued after the Restoration, besides the many mischiefs thereby prevented, that Kingdom might now be in a condition to furnish a much larger *quota* to the Publick Support.

And you, therefrom naturally inferred, that since a Civil War can never have a happy, or effectual end, but in an *Union*, it must certainly be better to make it by Treaty, than to stay till it comes the other way.

From these views, you have proceeded to draw a Scheme of an *Union*, whereby no hardship is proposed to be put

put upon Parties, Persons, or Circumstances, nor so much as, one negative upon the Religion, Laws, or Constitutions of either Nation.

And since by the Blessing of God, a happy occasion now offers, for compleating this Great and Good Work, not in Humour, or in Rage, but in cool Blood, with Reason and Understanding: It's hoped, that after all the Troubles, Hazards and Distresses of these Nations for want thereof, an *Union* shall in this Temper and Disposition be concluded, to the Glory and Renown of our Excellent *Queen*, common benefit, and general satisfaction of all her Subjects, who as having but one Interest and Inclination, may for ever after, be of one Heart and one Affection.

But since, the sense of my weakness, gives me sufficiently to understand, that by enlarging, I cannot possibly add, to the just Idea, you already have, of this necessary Preliminary, to all the great, and good things, we of these Nations can reasonably hope for, I beg leave, to conclude, with the following inimitable Expressions of our Glorious *Queen* *.

* To the
Commissioners of
both Kingdoms at the
last Treaty
of Uni-
on, Dec.

14. 1703.

My

My Lords,

I am so fully persuaded, that the Union of my two Kingdoms, will prove the Happiness of both, and render this Island more formidable than it hath been in Ages past, that I wish this Treaty, may be brought to a good and speedy Conclusion.

I am come to know, what progress you have made in it, and do assure you, that nothing shall be wanting on my part, to bring it to perfection.

After the Society, had expressed their general satisfaction, with those proceedings; and desired Mr. Jones to review them, they ordered Copies to be allowed the friends in Town, as likewise to be transmitted, to our Correspondents at York.

Adjournd.

FINIS.

A Scheme, of the present Representative,
of the Counties and Boroughs of *Scot-*
land, together with their respective
Rates in the Assessment of 6000 *l.* per
Month, in the same order as in their
Acts of Parliament.

		Rates in the Assessment of 6000 <i>l.</i> per Month	Num- ber of Repre- senta- tives in Parlia- ment.
Shire	Of <i>Edinburg</i>	265 5 8	4
—	of <i>Hadington</i>	231 17 20	4
—	of <i>Berwick</i>	234 8 50	4
—	of <i>Roxburgh</i>	307 4 9½	4
—	of <i>Selkirk</i>	75 7 50	2
—	of <i>Peebles</i>	86 17 40	2
—	of <i>Lanerk</i>	257 12 80	4
—	of <i>Dumfrees</i>	226 1 50	4
—	of <i>Wigton</i>	83 14 70	2
—	of <i>Kirkubright</i>	139 10 110	2
—	of <i>Air</i>	322 10 50	4
—	of <i>Dumbarton</i>	63 14 20	2
—	of <i>Bute</i>	25 14 ½	2
—	of <i>Renfrew</i>	113 15 70	3
—	of <i>Sterling</i>	146 3 8½	3
—	of <i>Linlithgow</i>	97 9 100	2
—	of <i>Perth</i>	419 17 100	4
—	of <i>Kincardin</i>	82 1 10	2
—	of <i>Aberdeen</i>	339 16 70	4
—	of <i>Inverness</i>	101 1 9½	2
—	of <i>Ross</i>	94 5 60	2
—	of <i>Nairn</i>	23 3 100	2
—	of <i>Cromarty</i>	17 16 80	2
—	of <i>Argyle</i>	162 5 10½	3
—	of <i>Fife and Kinross</i>	431 1 100	5
—	of <i>Forfar</i>	272 16 30	4

_____	of Banff	95	17	2
_____	of Sutherland	28		2
_____	of Caithness	49	18	9
_____	of Elgin	88	5	2
_____	of Orkney and Zetland	90	14	3
_____	of Clackmannan	29	7	34
For the Shires		500	23	116

City	of Edinburg	323	6	8	2
Bor.	of Perth	30			1
_____	of Dundee	46	13	4	1
City	of Aberdeen	60	10		1
Bor.	of Sterling	14	6	8	1
_____	of Linlithgow	13			1
City	of St. Andrews	6			1
_____	of Glasgow	150			1
Bor.	of Air	10	13	4	1
_____	of Haddington	16			1
_____	of Dysart	2	10		1
_____	of Kirkaldy	24			1
_____	of Montrose	20			1
_____	of Cowper	9			1
_____	of Anstruther East	1	10		1
_____	of Dumfries	19	3	4	1
_____	of Inverness	15			1
_____	of Burnt Island	6			1
_____	of Innerkething	2	10		1
_____	of Kanghorn	3	10		1
_____	of Brechin	4	10		1
_____	of Irwin	5			1
_____	of Jedburgh	8	10		1
_____	of Kirkubright	3			1
_____	of Wigton	3			1
_____	of Dumfermling	7	10		1
_____	of Pittinweem	2	10		1
_____	of Selkirk	6			1
_____	of Dumbarton	2	10		1
_____	of Renfrew	3			1
_____	of Dumbay	5			1
_____	of Lanerk	15			1
_____	of Aberbroth	4	10		1
_____	of Elgin	11	10		1
_____	of Peebles	9	10		1

of

— of Crail	3	1
— of Tain	2 10	1
— of Coleross	2	1
— of Bamf	3 10	1
— of Whitehorn	13 4	1
— of Forfar	2	1
— of Rothsay	2 10	1
— of Nairn	15	1
— of Forreſs	2	1
— of Rugline	1	1
— of North Berwick	10	1
— of Anſtruther Weſt	10	1
— of Cullen	13 4	1
— of Lauder	10	1
— of Kintore	15	1
— of Annan	1	1
— of Loebmahen	1 10	1
— of Sanchar	10	1
— of New Galloway	10	1
— of Kilrenny	13 4	1
— of Fortroſe	1 10	1
— of Dingwall	13 4	1
— of Dornoch	1 10	1
— of Queensferry	4 10	1
— of Inverary	2	1
— of Inverury	1	1
— of Week	1 13 4	1
— of Kirkwal	6	1
— of Inverberuy	10	1
— of Stranraer	1	1
— of Cambleton		1

By the Agent for the Boroughs 100

87 for the Shires 5002 13 11½
67 for the Boroughs 1000

Total 6002 13 11½

N. B. This Aſſeſſment was made in 1695, in which, as appears, there is an Error by way of over-plus of 2 13 11½; but it is ſaid, this Error is corrected in a Rate ſince made, which we have not ſeen.

ERRATA.

Page 2. line 7. Del. of. p. 38. in the Margent
for inserted r. included. p. 66. l. 18. d. every,
r. things. p. 91. l. 21. r. from time to time. p. 121.
l. 4. to doubt add nos. . p. 124. l. 18. for their r.
the. l. 24. to away add much of.

Says having, by mistake, been used instead of said
in some of the first Sheets, has, for the most part, been
so continued in those following, which, with other
Escapes of the Press, the Reader is desired to Correct.



P
a

t
d
n
r